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# Workers' control highlights militant strike at BC Tel

by P. Kent

When members of the BC Telecommunication Workers Union ended their occupation of 20 major offices throughout British Columbia, and terminated their control and operation of the entire BC Telephones communications monopoly for five days, they walked out to join what had become a full scale strike of their 11,000 member organization.

Some 10,000 civic employees have already been on strike since January 30 in a wage dispute with 11 municipalities in the Great Vancouver Regional District. A partial lockout by the government-run Insurance

Corporation is threatening the shutdown of the entire operation.

Concrete supplies to the construction industry are dwindling as cement workers continue their strike for a new contract. The 225 workers lock-

ed out since last September by Nabob Food are still holding firm. But to top off this turbulence on the BC labor front, the hydro workers, the longshoremen, the fishing, the ferry and mining workers, along with the forestry workers, organized in the powerful International Woodworkers of America, are all heading into negotiations.

As the Vancouver judge ordered an end to the occupation on the grounds that it constituted "criminal contempt of court," making the union liable to heavy fines, Ottawa intervened to appoint a federal mediator of the conflict. Under pressure of the BC Employer's Council which has been openly critical of BC Tel's labor relations, Labor Minister Ger-

ald Regan publicly expressed his regret that the telephone monopoly had not accepted recommendations of a previous conciliator which he noted "looks in some ways relatively  
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## BC Tel strike

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moderate." Expressing concern that the company's labor relations were determined by its U.S. owners, he felt called upon to state that "a utility has a responsibility to the people it is serving, as well as its own balance sheet."

The BC Employer's Council would like to clear from the scene these up-front irritating conflicts that so directly affect such a wide number of the general public and can set such infectious examples as union control of the telecommunications system. It wants to lower temperatures. It wants a calmer climate as it approaches negotiations involving the basic and most profitable areas of the economy and accordingly the most strategically situated sectors of the working class.

The BC workers are the most highly organized in all Canada. They have a longstanding record of high combativity. The rate of inflation, which is having such a devastating impact on living standards everywhere, is higher in BC than the national average. Housing costs, combined with continually higher interest rates are astronomical in BC. Some unions only now are coming out of the Liberal government's wage freeze. The workers must catch up — and their expectation levels have taken a big jump.

The Employer's Council hopes to mollify the workers. But the real situation is impelling the workers to increase their demands and form ranks to win them. And high among their expectations is the re-election of the NDP into power in the elections that are on the horizon.

02-13-1

02-03-1



## **Work for, elect NDP government in Ont.**

by the Editors

There is a choice in this election. Only an NDP government holds forth the possibility for seriously dealing with the major economic and social problems faced by Ontario's working people.

Whatever the deficiencies of the party's leadership or program, the NDP is deeply rooted in the trade unions and is independent of control by the large corporations. It reflects the developing movement of working people and their allies among the students, farmers and small businessmen. There is no other political party which embodies independent labor political action, which poses the possibility of the labor movement and its allies taking the reins of government.

The NDP challenges the priorities of big business, points the direction for future needed changes. The party's program stands against the sellout of Ontario's resources to U.S. corporations and against cutbacks in health care. It is pledged to diversifying employment through the creation of crown corporation-sponsored secondary industries.

Despite the promises and posturing of the Liberals and Tories, their essentially identical policies have created the crisis of unemployment, inflation, social service cutbacks and

antilabor laws. These are the policies of the economic elite, which calls the shots in the old line parties.

Unfortunately, the crystal clear division between the NDP and the old line parties has been blurred by the conduct of the parliamentary caucus during the last few years. The parliamentary leadership has compromised the integrity of the party by supporting the Tories in a series of Liberal-sponsored non-confidence motions. This has allowed Liberal leader Stuart Smith to demagogically argue that his party is the real alternative and that a vote for the NDP is a vote to prop up the Tories.

The NDP record on other issues — like Ziemba's "excommunication," Bill 89, the exclusion of homosexuals from the Human Rights Code, public ownership — has also been wretched. These are important problems and the membership will be called upon to settle accounts with the leadership on these matters within the party.

As socialists, our support for the NDP flows from a commitment to its character as the political expression of the labor movement. The opportunistic mistakes of its leaders cannot negate the working class base of the party. Socialists should commit themselves actively in the campaigns of NDP candidates, to promote the labor alternative before the electorate and to share in the important evaluations which will take place within the NDP after the elections.

An NDP government would mark a major step forward for labor. It would place the development of a worked-out labor program to meet the economic crisis on the agenda. Work for and vote to elect an NDP government in Queen's Park.

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How the Toronto Star sees it.

## New forces call for constituent assembly

by the Editors

The most serious attempt to come to grips with the constitutional crisis confronting Canada was brutally shoved aside by the Trudeau government's special parliamentary constitutional committee. Ottawa's NDP Mayor, Marion Dewar, appearing before it on behalf of Canadian Connection, challenged the committee not to cut off public debate just as it is getting underway across the country — "not to stifle us as citizens of this country." "Why," she asked, "are we amending a British statute? Why aren't we writing a Canadian statute?"

Mayor Dewar outlined some of the key ideas projected in the Canadian Connection prospectus:

- "Our constitution belongs to all Canadians — past, present and future — and not solely to our governments. It is **our** basic statement of **who** we are, how we govern **ourselves**. Therefore it is not just a law. Nor is it only the agreement by which federal and provincial governments regulate their relationships.
- "The fifty three years of debate about patriation of the constitution have been largely a discussion among governments. The public has not been directly involved. The discussion has focussed on federal/provincial relationships and not on our lives, our history or our aspirations.
- "...Precisely because our constitution is our most fundamental statement about how we live together, under no circumstances can it be imposed on any of us in the hope that in time our resistance will diminish, or that we will change our minds."

Canadian Connections' aim: "to encourage a community-based movement...to enable Canadians to understand, participate in,

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## Constituent assembly

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and actually make a difference to the constitutional discussion." had the support of a wide range of representatives from church, women's, native peoples' and rights groups across the country. Among them were the primate of the Anglican Church, the chairman of the Presbyterian Church, the president of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the president of the National Action Committee of the Status of Women, the president of the National Indian Brotherhood, the executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization, the president of the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped, the president of the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work, etc., etc.

After listening to Mayor Dewar, the government's committee went back to its dickering with NDP leader Broadbent who sucked his caucus into swallowing Trudeau's package in return for a few concessions. These can be deleted by Trudeau's house majority or scrapped entirely should he decide to back off and settle for the Tory's proposition for simple patriation.

## Br Left points the way

As the economic and constitutional crisis deepens within Canada, revealing the flaws of the capitalist system, so too does the programmatic crisis of the NDP, revealing the flaws in the reformist perspective of the party's leadership. The perspective of piecemeal reform is becoming increasingly revealed as inadequate to solve the economic and political crisis.

Because of the inadequacy of its leadership, the NDP has not become a dynamic alternative to the old-time parties. It offers no perspective of resolving the constitutional crisis, breaking from the cold war atmosphere or solving the economic problems of the recession. Broadbent's backing for Trudeau's patriation package has humiliated the NDP, compromised the good name and socialist roots of the party and tied its political fate to the pro-capitalist Liberal Party.

The growing malaise in the party creates an obligation for the left in the party to move out boldly. Amidst the demoralization caused by the performance of our leaders, the left can take the initiative and popularize the call for a constituent assembly to determine Canada's future and to emphasize the party's clear anti-war, anti-NATO position which Broadbent is seeking to dump. If we take the initiative, the party can be revitalized with the left making gains.

Britain points the way. There, the labor party has rejected its right-wing leadership. As a result, British working people are now remaking a party that stands strongly in favor of unilateral disarmament and public ownership.

The left in Canada must follow the British example and provide a programmatic alternative to point the direction forward for the Party. Without such a development, the political expression of the working class will become corroded. The NDP will continue to reel from crisis to crisis, futilely relying upon personality-oriented campaigns and formulae to establish its credibility.

Despite this crisis and the opportunities it has opened up, the left has not responded vigorously. Although a decision taken by the left caucus at the last provincial convention in June called for regional conferences, the left caucus did not meet in Toronto until fall, months after similar meetings had taken place elsewhere. There is continual resistance to proposals for left initiatives and organization.

However, the mood is growing within the left to organize to defeat the party's anti-NATO position at the coming federal convention. The upcoming Etobicoke NDP's conference on foreign affairs scheduled to feature MP Pauline Jewett and to promote Canada's withdrawal from NATO points out the vital educational role the left can now play. The need to organize for the federal convention this June and to offer an alternative program to the leadership has never been greater. The left must demonstrate real leadership to meet the challenge thrust upon it.





12-03-4

## Civil Liberties backs charging of RCMP

by Paul Kane

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association is backing Ross Dowson in his appeal against Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry's attempt to block charges against the RCMP for violating the law. The CCLA has appointed well-known Toronto lawyer Ian Scott to aid lawyers Harry Kopyto and Paul Copeland in presenting Dowson's case before the Ontario Court of Appeal.

Last summer, the CCLA presented Solicitor-General Kaplan with a 15,000-signature petition, demanding that the federal government prosecute RCMP officers revealed as having broken the law. The names, which had been collected with a minimum payment of one dollar each, were presented to Kaplan by a delegation which included NDP leaders David Lewis and T.C. Douglas, publicist Pierre Berton, and CCLA President Walter Tarnapolsky.

After pressing a Toronto justice of the peace into granting four delays, McMurtry finally ordered a stay of proceedings on October 30. This

blocked Dowson's efforts to lay charges against two top RCMP officers who directed the "thought control" Operation Checkmate, waged against a wide range of organizations of legitimate dissent.

On November 26, an Ontario Supreme Court Judge upheld McMurtry's stay of proceedings, even though this decision gravely compromises the entire concept of private citizens' rights before the courts. This judgement, implicitly endorsing the argument that the two named senior RCMP officers were only acting on orders from more senior officers, is a blatant violation

of the Nuremburg decision.

The date of the hearing before the Ontario Court of Appeal will be set in the very near future.

Meanwhile, the courts continue to block Dowson's \$500,000 slander suit against the RCMP from even getting to the first stage of trial. On December 9, lawyer Harry Kopyto presented an argument in the Federal Court of Appeal before Supreme Court Judges Le Dain, McKay and Ryan, but judgement was reserved. Whatever their judgement, it will probably be appealed by either Dowson or the RCMP to the Supreme Court of Canada.

## Att-gen McMurtry blocks Praxis break-in charges

For the second time in three months, Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry has intervened to block attempts to lay charges against RCMP officers alleged to be involved in "dirty tricks." On January 9,

McMurtry directed a Toronto justice of the peace to stay proceedings, thus blocking Toronto lawyer Paul Copeland from presenting evidence on behalf of Gerry Hunnius, Howard Buchbinder and Meyer Bronstone

of the now-defunct Praxis Institute. Their action related to the RCMP's possession of files of that organization which disappeared 10 years ago during a fire and break-in at its Huron Street offices. Earlier, on October 30, McMurtry had issued a stay of proceedings against lawyers Copeland and Kopyto's efforts on behalf of Ross Dowson to lay charges against two senior officers who directed the RCMP's "thought control" Operation Checkmate.

The Praxis Institute was a research organization involved in various projects primarily dealing with problems of the poor. It was financed by both private and public funds. The pillaged files turned up at the offices of the Toronto Sun's Editor-in-chief, Peter Worthington. Instead of turning them over to their owners, Worthington slipped them along to the RCMP. Several months later, based on information from the RCMP Security Service, no less than the then federal Solicitor-General, Jean Pierre Goyer, circulated amongst fellow cabinet members a secret letter naming Praxis and 21 civil servants as "part of an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition...who appear to have as their aim the destruction of the existing political and social structure in Canada."

"There have been inquiries over the past three years on whether the Ontario Provincial Police investigation (into the burglary and the RCMP's receipt of the stolen documents) included examination of RCMP memos concerning the use made of Praxis documents. Mr. McMurtry and Mr. McLeod (his legal representative) have totally stonewalled on this issue...I have been trying to find out about those memos for three years," said Mr. Copeland.



# Govts soon to make public response to RCMP crimes

by Jean Laplante

The report of the Royal Commission into RCMP wrongdoing, headed by Mr. Justice David McDonald, will be presented to the House of Commons and the public. But first, it has to be edited by representatives of the Privy Council Office, the RCMP, and one or two other government departments, says Prime Minister Trudeau.

The cover-all argument of "interests of national security" is the excuse given by Solicitor-General Kaplan. This will hold up the report possibly until the March 31 deadline set by an order-in-council. NDP justice critic Svend Robinson has asked for a guarantee that the report won't be censored to remove embarrassing references to former Liberal cabinet ministers and Trudeau himself.

The main recommendation of the 2,400-page core of the report may be the largely administrative, "face-saving" device of severing the Security Service from the RCMP, on the grounds that the Security Service has been most heavily involved in the massive violations of civil rights. This proposal would ignore the fact that the Criminal Investigation Service has also been heavily involved in wire-tapping, mail openings, and other RCMP illegalities. According to Robinson, he pending legislation to change

the Post Office into a Crown Corporation includes provisions that will allow the Mounties to open first class mail. Robinson claims that the government is sneaking in "through the back door" a change that will allow mail opening "where there is lawful excuse, whatever that means."

The Quebec Keable Inquiry, which started the unravelling of the RCMP's horrendous violations of the law, was castrated in a jurisdictional squabble with the federal government. It is now winding to a close — its mandate expired November 30, and the report is expected shortly.

In the next month or so, according to Solicitor-General Kaplan, action will be taken on a recommendation by the 1976 inquiry under Judge Rene Marin into RCMP handling of public complaints and internal discipline in this para-military formation. The government intends

to create a national review board to handle complaints from RCMP officers about disciplinary measures, and another panel to hear public complaints.

From the experience of the Alberta Royal Commission under Justice Laycraft, according to Solicitor-General Harle, Alberta is considering dropping the RCMP and forming its own provincial force, as Quebec and Ontario already have. In its pass-the-buck austerity drive, Ottawa is raising RCMP rates, which for Alberta already stand at \$72 million for the 2,298 constables stationed there.

There is a test case before the Supreme Court of Canada on whether the RCMP is accountable to provincial police commissions. Alberta, along with Ontario Solicitor-General McMurtry who is harassed by attempts to lay charges against the RCMP, is party to this suit.



# Unions, NDP joining Dowson defence fund

by Harry Paine

Support for the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, set up to meet legal expenses of the Dowson slander suit against the RCMP, continues to grow. The aim of the suit is to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of subversion by the RCMP.

Possibly the best response we have received over the last month or so was a note from Doug Meggison of Halifax. He took the initiative to ask if we had any material on the case to circulate in his community. We promptly sent him several hundred copies of three different leaflets that we have recently put out. We consider the financing and publication of this literature provides one of the best ways to build support for the Dowson suit. We are only too happy to send copies to anyone who will assure us effective circulation.

The first leaflet is a tabloid-size newsprint sheet outlining the end-of-year state of the suit. It features the resolution on the RCMP passed by delegates at the Canadian Labor Congress convention, a report on two items of continued RCMP harassment—the Pratt-Whitney Three in Montreal and the **In Struggle** group in Halifax—and an attractive ad containing statements of solidarity by several eminent Canadians, with the heading **Support This Cry for Justice**. In a bold action, to make the widest possible impact across Canada, this ad was placed in the Saturday November 22 **Globe and Mail** at a cost of \$1,000. Full-size

8½ x 11-inch reproductions, suitable for offset printing, were circulated to many publications we thought might reproduce it in solidarity with SRDF. At this time we know that it is appearing in **Labour/Le Travailleur** published by the History Department of Dalhousie University, Halifax.

The second leaflet is this same ad, published separately as an 8½ x 11-inch leaflet. The third leaflet is a foolscap sheet outlining **What's At Stake — Dowson vs. RCMP**. It lists the names of our supporters, along with the statement of purpose they have signed.

Individual financial contributions are continuing to come in, in varying amounts from \$10 to \$50, from as far north as Whitehorse in the Yukon, and from scattered points from Ottawa, to Niagara-on-the-Lake, to Calgary. The B.C. provincial riding of Skeena sent in \$50. It was followed by a contribution from the Carleton East Riding, and by five individual contributions collected at an annual NDP meeting in Waterford, Ontario. Le Syndicat de Professionnelles du Gouvernement du Quebec forwarded \$100, along with a strong statement of solidarity with our efforts.

No doubt, the publication of the book **Dowson v. the RCMP**, financed with the aid of the Harry Hatfield Fund, will result in increased support for the suit being sent to The Socialist Rights Defence Fund, c/o Harry Paine, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

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# Krever indicts RCMP acts

by Ross Dowson

Justice Horace Krever's three volume 1626-page report on the confidentiality of Ontario health information, released to the public on the eve of the New Year, is not complete. The RCMP, with the support of the solicitor-general of Canada, has refused to turn over information to Krever and is in the process of appealing an order by the Ontario Court of Appeal that it must do so to the Supreme Court of Canada.

But even so, the Krever Report constitutes a staggering exposure of the massive violation of the confidentiality of sensitive information about the general public contained in the files of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan. Those indicted by the report include the giant insurance corporations, some of the most eminent members of the legal profession, respected members of the medical profession, top government-appointed officials in the OHIP bureaucracy, the sinister burgeoning private investigation industry, and above all, the so-called forces of law and order, the heads of the Ontario Provincial Police and in particular of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and their mentors—the cabinet of the federal government in Ottawa.

Among the mounting charges of RCMP violations of the law, following the revelations before Quebec's Keable Inquiry, were reports that the RCMP had access to protected information on OHIP files that they had used in a campaign to disrupt left-wing organizations in the early seventies. The then Solicitor-General Francis Fox finally admitted that confidential health information had been made available to the RCMP but condoned it as concerning only persons who threatened prominent Canadians. He remained silent on the allegation that the RCMP had used it to disrupt the labor and socialist movement. Then came the revelation that Dr. John Porter, an adjudicator for OHIP in Mississauga, had supplied confidential information to an insurance adjuster from the records of six Metro area hospitals. This forced the situation, and the Ontario government named Mr. Justice Horace Krever to head a Royal Commission of Inquiry.

The commission's investigators, in the process of their examination of the files of private investigative companies found that the services of these companies were sought by scores of lawyers representing companies faced with insurance claims. The private investigators were hired to wheedle and convince physicians, hospital employees and OHIP staff to ignore their oath to preserve the confidentiality of medical information, which the lawyers knew without any question would require a violation of the law.

Even the limited investigations by the commission's staff exposed 25 lawyers, later joined by seven more, who confessed that they had sought and/or received confidential health information. Admittedly, this revelation only scratches the surface when it is considered that in 1977 there were 115,019 bodily injury claims handled by the members of the Insurance Bureau of Canada and that investigative reports were sought on 6,140 of them. Described by the commission's counsel as "the cream of the insurance bar," more than half of the 32 repentant lawyers display the honorary title of Queen's Counsel after their names.

## OHIP Files Used by Labor Spies

Such investigative companies as Centurion Investigation Ltd., along with employing persons to trick hospital and OHIP staff into revealing confidential information, are also involved in hiring labor spies to disrupt the unionization of company employees.

After noting that the Ontario Provincial Police is responsible for the regulation of private investigators, Justice Krever states that despite the Registration Branch's considerable powers, the industry is "out of control." "It did not, it appears, consider itself a regulatory agency concerned with policing breaches, not only of the law relating to confidentiality, but of all the laws affecting the entire range of an investigator's activities...it seems to have viewed its function pri-

marily as an automatic licensing bureau."

While the Health Insurance Act, which created OHIP in 1972, specifically made it an offence to supply the police and the Immigration department with health information, according to Mr. Krever, "on various occasions police officers have attempted to obtain health information from hospitals throughout the province, without patient authorization. Sometimes, when they were refused such information, some officers became abusive, and, although rarely, threatened to charge the uncooperative hospital employee with obstructing justice."

To illustrate that this was a general phenomenon going beyond the OPP, "applicable to almost all police forces across Ontario," Krever referred to the brief submitted to his commission by the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police. It contained a charge that a quite proper instruction to maintain confidentiality issued by a particular hospital to its staff "almost verges upon obstruction of justice."

Indeed, three senior executives of OHIP were found to have even "formulated or accepted an administrative policy of disclosing information in breach of the Act." The practice of supplying correct addresses or employers' addresses of persons believed to be illegally in Canada to the Department of Employment and Immigration became so routine that, with OHIP's creation, "a form letter, directed to OHIP requesting information began to be used."

According to Krever: "It would be accurate to summarize the testimony by saying practically every (OHIP) employee who testified believed that cooperation with the police was the rule. Biographical data, that is, subscribers' names, home addresses, or employers' addresses were routinely given to the RCMP, the Ontario Provincial Police, the municipal police forces. There were many hundreds of contacts by various police forces throughout the province with OHIP

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## Krever Report

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employees. Contact was so routine that no record was kept by OHIP employees with respect to the date of the contact, the name of the officer, the police force involved and the information provided. Nor did any police force keep a master record of these contacts."

Krever singles out the RCMP for particular attention — and castigation. He notes that "part of our investigation involved an inquiry into certain allegations made in stories in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* written by reporter Lawrence Martin and in which he had asserted that the RCMP had used health information for disruptive purposes." On January 16, 1979, as the investigative period of the commission hearings was winding to a close and it had no evidence before it supporting this assertion (the editors of the *Globe and Mail* had assigned Martin to a post outside the country, thus effectively removing him from the jurisdiction of the commission), the commission's counsel made a statement to the press.

He concluded that "the use by the RCMP of medical information, however obtained, for disruptive purposes either in Ontario or elsewhere just did not take place."

Arthur C. Pennington, representing the RCMP and the Solicitor-General of Canada, immediately seized upon the statement to declare: "I would concur with the submission that there really is no evidence before you sir, that would suggest that there has been the use of any medical information from any source in Ontario that was used improperly by the RCMP. There just isn't, in my submission, a shred of evidence."

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"Mr. Pennington's statement," remonstrates Krever, "was made after I had been assured that I had had complete disclosure from the RCMP. The RCMP and the Solicitor-General must have known that this submission was untrue."

The Krever commission was made aware that this was a fraud and a deception only a matter of days later when RCMP Superintendent Taylor admitted that some letters that had been rushed to its attention by Ross Dowson, a former leader of the now-defunct League for Socialist Action, were forged and circulated by the RCMP. Other copies of these same letters had been submitted to the McDonald Commission one year before, at which time the RCMP gave assurances they would be brought to the attention of all other commissions. The letters used medical information concerning another LSA leader and were employed in an RCMP disruptive "Operation Checkmate" against the LSA. It is probable that the RCMP's admission before the Krever Commission was key to leading the McDonald Commission some six months later to release secret RCMP testimony which tore the veil of secrecy from the theretofore covered-up "Operation Checkmate."

"With respect to the RCMP...a force not answerable to provincial authorities," notes Krever, "one cannot remain confident that OHIP information would not be used for such purposes as health information was used in the Riddell affair. I do not believe that the use of confidential information for these or similar purposes is acceptable to members of Ontario society. The incident itself has disturbing implications." Though noting Superintendent Taylor's assurance that "this was the only incident of its kind," Krever expressed "serious doubts about its accuracy."

"In his testimony, Superintendent Taylor said that letter writing operations had been suspended pending the submission of the report of the McDonald Commission. It is therefore not certain that further operations of this kind will not be undertaken in the future...It seems quite clear that the provincial authorities are without the capability of following up and checking on the ultimate use of the information. The only check is the integrity and self-discipline of the RCMP itself. In a democratic society, no police force, no matter how generally respected, should be allowed to be law unto itself. To rely solely upon a police force's integrity and self-discipline is to permit that force to become a law unto itself."

According to Krever, "there were other RCMP contacts with OHIP. Some of them took place during RCMP monitoring of alleged 'violence-prone individuals and groups'." Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry, in his response to Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis' inquiries as to whether the NDP had been subject to RCMP investigation, evaded giving a direct answer by naming the LSA and its leaders, along with "ex-communists," in the NDP as "violence prone."

Chief Superintendent Spooner testified that the RCMP Security Service, on the direction of the federal Cabinet, had the responsibility of monitoring and investigating persons and groups of this description. He testified that in the fall of 1974 the RCMP examined OHIP files in Thunder Bay for the "addresses of two individuals who stood for election to Parliament." Krever found it "disquieting that the RCMP utilized OHIP in an attempt to carry out surveillance of two persons who had run for Parliament in 1974 on behalf of a lawful political party (the Communist Party of Canada-Marxist Leninist). Despite Chief Superintendent Spooner's evidence that these inquiries had nothing to do with the political campaign which, at the time of the inquiries, had recently taken place, I do not know the reason for this investigation."

Chief Superintendent Spooner testified "that the characterization of a particular organization as violence prone and one therefore to be monitored were not judgements made by an individual RCMP member," but were made by the Operational Priorities Review Board "made up of senior members of the Security Service from the rank of Superintendent and Chief Superintendent ... a lawyer from the Department of Justice is also a member of this committee as is a senior officer of the Criminal Investigation Branch."

Krever notes that "there is confusion in this testimony," relating to an action taken in 1974, since testimony given before the McDonald Commission "makes it clear that the Operational Priorities Review Committee was conceived of by senior officials of the Security Service in February, 1977 and came into existence only after that date."

In the course of his detailed examination of a wide number of areas of concern to his commission, Krever makes some 37 pages of

## What they're already saying about

### "DOWSON v. RCMP"

"...with the release of the McDonald Commission report on the RCMP 'dirty tricks' Dowson's case has suddenly become a **cause celebre**. As the only action in progress against the RCMP's own subversion of civil rights it has become the focal point of protest."

Alastair McColl, editor of THE PEAK, S.F.U.

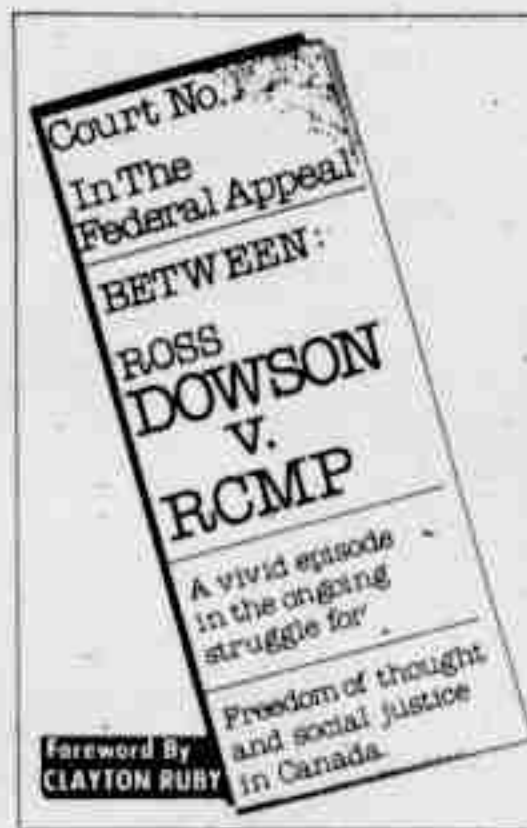
"Dowson's book is part of the process of fighting to protest civil liberties essential (to) the labor movement and the Left. It is also a useful record of RCMP harassment of the unions, the NDP and socialist groups. For these reasons, it deserves a wide circulation."

Editorial Board member, Ian Kellogg, WORKERS ACTION

"I read it with considerable interest and appreciation. It makes a needed contribution—I say this without agreeing with your basic political platform."

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recommendations to the government of Ontario — 170 in all. Whether they will be discussed by parliament and acted upon in whole or even in part has yet to be seen. There is one recommendation that no action should be taken against the law-breakers which will no doubt be accepted — since the net would be wide and gather in persons reaching right up into the highest ranks of the capitalist state apparatus, including its "bodies of armed men."

At one point, commenting on the RCMP's forging and circulating letters in the YS-LSA, Krever states that "it is indeed reasonable to perceive of the Young Socialists as an organization whose members believe in the violent overthrow of the existing government. To put it another way, I do not believe that it would be unreasonable for the national security of this country to so look upon such a political organization."

Aside from all the evidence that there are no facts whatsoever upon which to base this convoluted and false statement—it stands in contradiction to the statements made by Judge Krever himself, at the public hearings following Dowson's extended testimony before the commission, and also his comments to the RCMP on their submission on policy. These are reproduced in the book **Dowson v. RCMP**.



# Ont Hospital brass launch assault to decapitate workers trade union

by P. Kent

The hospital bosses organized in the Ontario Hospital Association are waging a massive punitive campaign of layoffs, suspensions and firings against hundreds of CUPE union activists across the province. And yet, it was only weeks ago that the OHA, with the aid of the Tory government and the courts, was leading a chorus, trumpeted forth by the mass media, that the labor of every single hospital support-worker was absolutely essential to the health and safety of the public — and required the prohibition of strike action and the imposition of compulsory arbitration.

The bosses are out to smash the union and in particular to behead it of its local leadership. The union has been built with great difficulty in the face of a big turnover in personnel, many of them recent immigrants anxious to obtain their citizenship, from widely diverse cultural and language backgrounds. Despite the combativity of the ranks, goaded by their abysmal conditions, the leadership of the hospital workers, par-

ticularly on the key Toronto-area level, is relatively undeveloped.

OHA spokesmen rejected the union's demand that their present average hourly wage of approximately \$6.64 be increased by two dollars in a one-year contract. They offered a miserable \$1.30 an hour increase over two years and demanded that the union appoint a representative to the loaded and compulsory arbitration board. Against the advice of the national leadership to accept the offer, the union membership voted 75% in favor of strike should their demands not be met.

When the Labour Relations Board issued an order that all the preparations for the illegal strike be stopped and demanded the compliance of the CUPE leadership, national President Grace Hartman advised the membership that a strike made the union and each striking member subject to \$1,000 a day fines. When challenged by the press, she stated that the locals were autonomous, that she would support the membership in whatever course they took, and was herself fully pre-

pared to go to jail.

When attempts to force the re-opening of negotiations failed, on Sunday January 25, the negotiating committee directed 40 of the 65 Ontario hospitals under contract to strike. Although pickets were mounted, they did not hold when faced with a Supreme Court injunction ordering them back on Monday, Feb. 2. Penalties for violating the law and a massive campaign of intimidation — letters, phone calls, visits from hospital administrative staff, all exploiting the fear of loss of job, took their toll. The negotiating committee sought guarantees that there should be no punitive actions but the OHA brass turned a deaf ear.

The picket lines were soon pared back to a handful of hospital workers — buttressed by a scattering of militants and activists from other unions — and gradually melted away. That evening's meeting, organized by the Toronto Area CUPE to build support for the hospital workers, was small, and many were not hospital workers. The strike was over, and the question was how to take the union back.

While the punitive actions against hundreds of CUPE militants goes on, it has been highly selective and has not yet resulted in any known on-the-job-actions. The workers are digesting their experience. The compulsory Arbitration Board will attempt to mollify them by conceding a little more than the last offer.

This defeat of the hospital workers, the first suffered by Toronto labor in some time, is a threat to all labor. CUPE Ontario has called on the Ontario Federation of Labor to convene a conference of all public sector affiliates to hammer out a common strategy in defence of the hospital workers and force the repeal of the Ontario Hospital Disputes Arbitration Act, enacted and upheld by the Davis government.



# Oh Canada

Even as the Canadian economy continues to slump and slide into depression and U.S. corporate interests draw back and consolidate around their central holdings south of the border, U.S. capitalism continues to dominate the economy. And Canadian dependency on the U.S. increases, according to Statistics Canada's recent report.

The net flow into Canada of long term investment dropped in 1977 from 7.9 billion dollars in the previous year, to 4.3 billion. U.S. long term investment declined to 72% from 77% of the total in 1974. But over all the book value of foreign long term investment in Canada rose 11% to 90.9 billion at the end of 1977. The U.S. accounted for 56% of the increase while Britain accounted for five of the remaining 44%.

Information on foreign ownership, only available up to the end of 1976, shows a one percent point increase to 34% of capital invested.

The latest report covers 264,940 non-financial companies. The 500 largest companies, more than half of them foreign controlled, with 66% of the assets, accounted for 54% of the sales and 66% of the profits. Of the 25 largest, the foreign-controlled sector, taking into account sales generated per dollar of assets, had twice as high a rate as domestic compan-

ies. This sector, with 31% of the assets, accounted for 22% of the total sales and 27% of the profits.

Within the foreign sector, U.S. companies remained dominant, accounting for 74.2% of the assets, 78.4% of the sales and 83.7% of the profits.

Appearing to cut across the foreboding picture, Canada's trade surplus for 1980 soared to a record \$7.96 billion — almost double the previous record set in 1979. Exports increased by 16.7% while imports increased 11.3%. However, huge interest payments to foreign investors and other funds flowing out are expected to turn the surplus into a deficit in the neighborhood of 6.2 billion dollars.

The strong showing is due primarily to rising prices. The volume of exports rose only 1.6% in the first 11 months of 1980 over the same period a year ago.

Canada's trade continues to be locked into the U.S. market which accounts for 60% of Canada's exports and supplies 70% of Canada's imports. The bulk of Canada's exports continue to be raw and semi-finished goods. There was a drop of \$1.2 billion in foreign sales of Canadian-made automobiles. Imports continue to be largely finished goods such as industrial machinery, office machinery and equipment, food, feed, beverages and tobacco.

02-03-9



# You need *Forward* *Forward* needs you

by the Editors

What's black and white and read all over? **Forward** meets the test of readership with political leadership. Other socialist journals have contented themselves with political commentary removed from the possibility of influencing newly radicalizing workers. They remain "pure" by avoiding confrontation with reformism. **Forward** has confidently put itself into the centre of the fray.

**Forward** has consistently promoted the necessity of organizing a class-struggle left wing within the NDP to challenge the right wing leadership in the objective interests of the working class movement. While maintaining political independence, we at **Forward** have sought to intervene in both the NDP and labor movement with socialist approaches to Canada-U.S. relations, labor's struggles, RCMP harassment of the left and labor movements, self-determination for Quebec, the constitutional crisis, and international solidarity with the struggles of all workers and oppressed.

**Forward's** major goal is effective education in the most important radicalizing areas. We have attempted to bring to Marxist ideology the fresh renewal of ideas by making specific analyses of current situations, especially in regard to Canada, where we are duty bound to build the forces that will win socialism in our future. We aim to speak out clearly where serious discussions are taking place and to link up with socialist militants in the ongoing processes of the class struggle.

Opportunities for socialists are increasing. The fiasco of the constitutional crisis opens up continual possibilities to press for a mass constituent assembly. The rise of labor militancy directed against both the corporations and the state is serving to broaden the receptivity of Canadian workers to socialist alternatives. Victorious struggles in the Third World are shrinking imperialism's room to manoeuvre out of the economic crisis. In Britain, the left in the Labor Party is rapidly gaining influence among the working class in the party against the compromising and treacherous former leadership. And the workers of Poland are bringing fresh inspiration to the socialist project against the evils of Stalinist bureaucracy.

Unfortunately, while the objective conditions favor the work of **Forward**, we have failed to raise sufficient funds from our last fund drive (which only met half its goal) to allow us to publish on a regular basis. This is where you come in. We are asking you to dig a little and give us your financial support to carry us over the next year. We need \$5,000 — a modest projection in the light of rampant inflation. We must attain it by the end of May.

Our future is in your hands. Please send your cheque or money order as soon as possible to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

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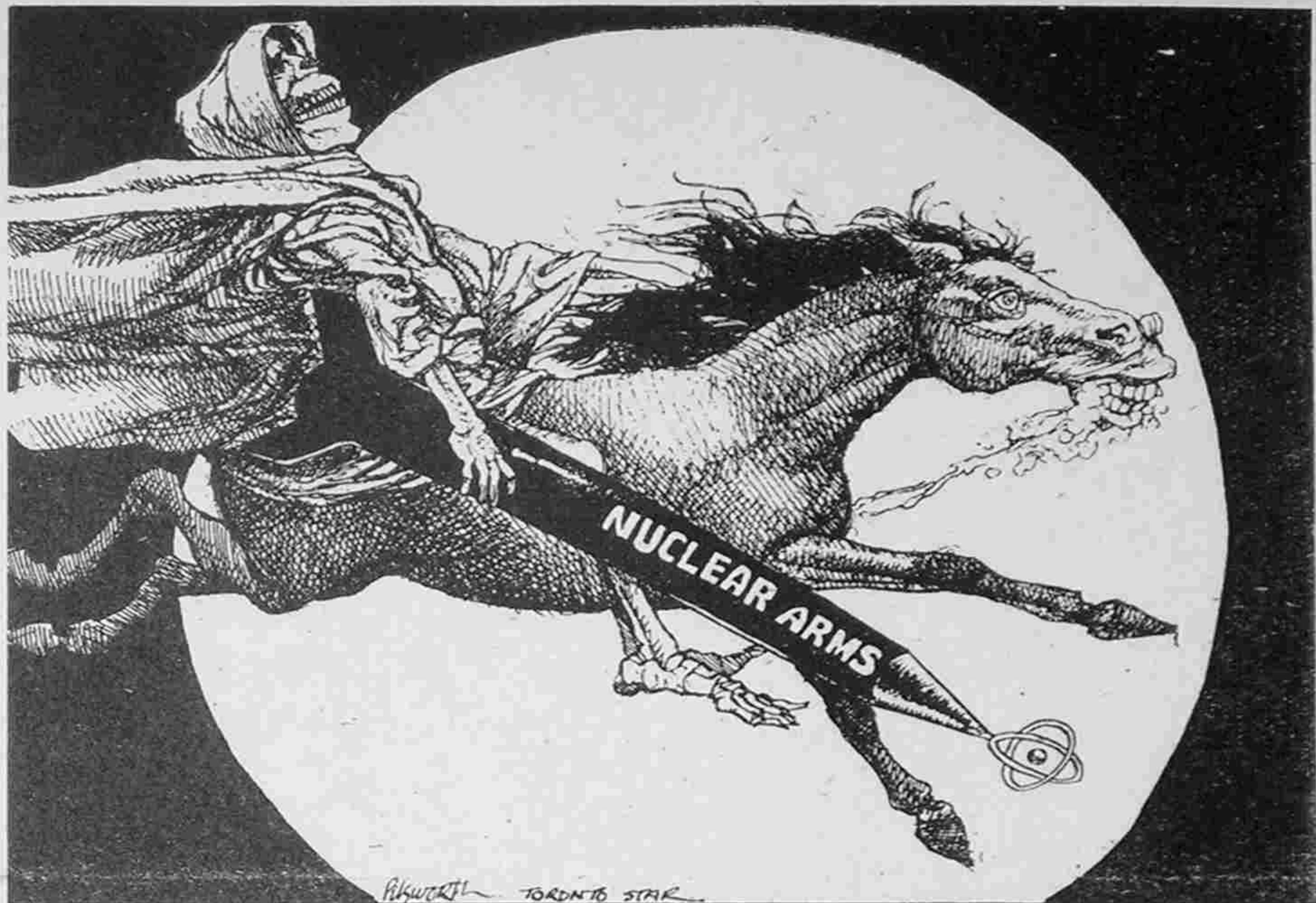
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# For an antiwar NDP



FIFTH HORSEMAN OF THE APOCALYPSE

## By the Editors

The overriding challenge before delegates to the NDP federal convention this July is to transform the NDP into Canada's antiwar party.

The struggle against war and for unilateral disarmament is impelling hundreds of thousands of people into the streets of West Europe, transforming some of the most staid pro-West labor parties into militant antiwar organizations and challenging the plans of the U.S. ruling circles to turn Europe into a nuclear arsenal through NATO, and possibly into a burial ground for its peoples.

Led by Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which has won the British Labour Party over to a position of unilateral disarmament, antiwar forces have focused their immediate campaigns against the massive increase in nuclear missile bases envisaged in Reagan's stepped-up war drive plans for NATO. With the assistance of the Protestant Church, the youth sections of the German Social Democratic and Free Democratic parties and fifty other organizations, 70,000 people marched to block such missile installations in Hamburg in late June. The march followed the collection of close to a million signatures protesting the nuclearization of Germany through NATO.

To these countries can be added Denmark, Greece, Norway, France, Italy, Spain and every other major European country. The rise of the new antiwar movement has taken place in response to the accelerating U.S. war drive which threatens to increase the U.S.

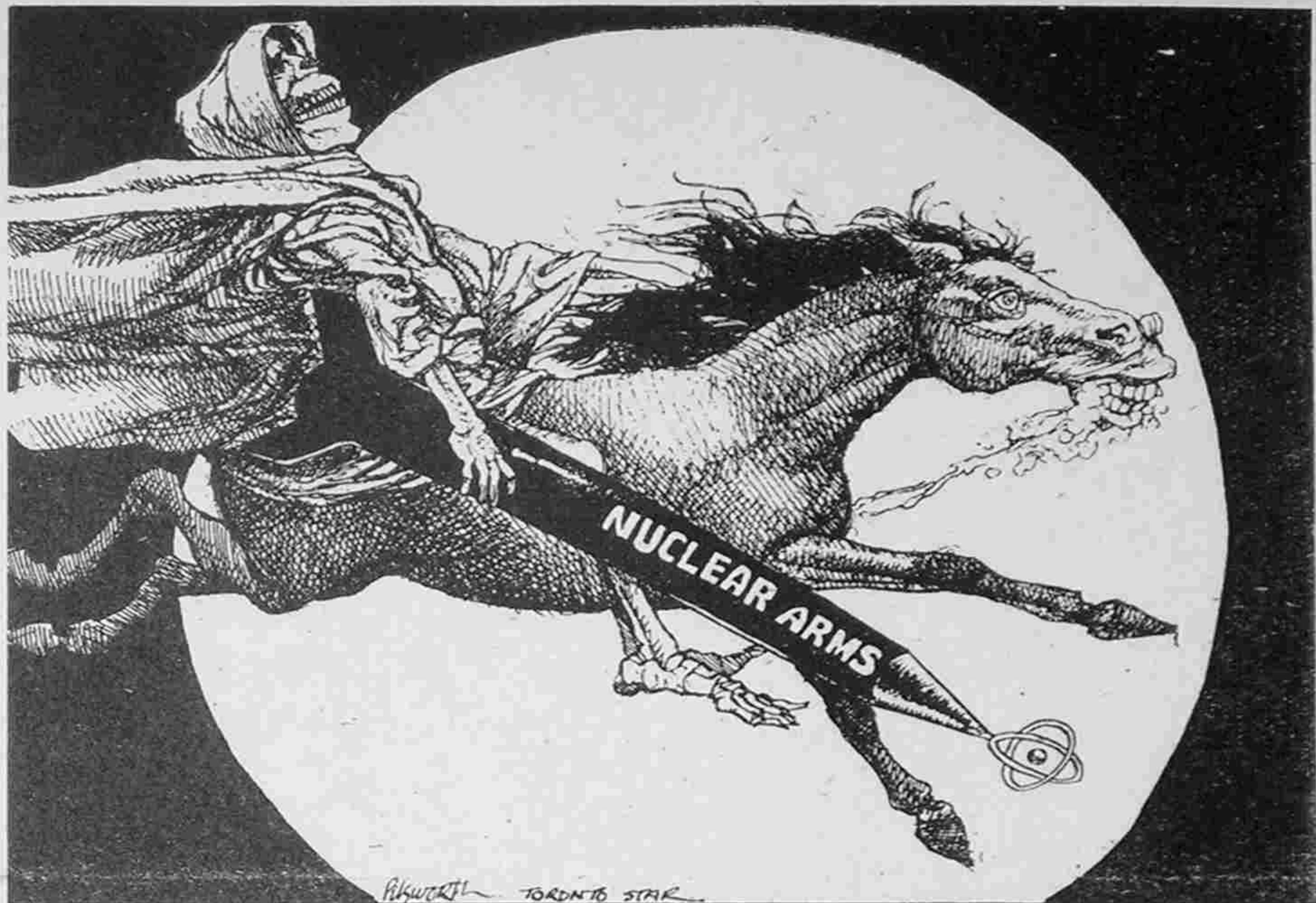
military budget from \$162 billion a year to \$304 billion by 1985. This increase is three times greater than the increase of military expenditures throughout the period it was fighting the Vietnamese people.

While the European labor movement seeks to oppose Europe's increased NATO burden and its ancillary nuclearization policies, Canada finds itself already thoroughly integrated by the Liberals and Tories into the U.S. war machine through NATO and NORAD. It is an open secret that the U.S. regards Canada as the most likely target for fallout from a potential nuclear conflict, yet Ottawa accepts this prospect without protest. In this context, the NDP has the responsibility to project itself as Canada's antiwar party. It must unequivocally call for a clear break from the NATO-NORAD military pacts. And it must put an end to retreats on party policy such as the parliamentary caucus voting for continuation of the military expenditures for these alliances and Broadbent's betrayal of the party's anti-U.S. imperialist positions in the last federal election.

The growing antiwar sentiment in Canada, though still in its infancy has already witnessed thousands taking to the streets in protests against Canada's support for the U.S. in El Salvador. The growing rejection of U.S. dominance over the Canadian political state and economy augurs well for any political party which chooses to campaign for an independent foreign policy reflecting the desire for Canadians to end their satellitic role to the U.S. and steer their own course towards peace. The NDP must meet the challenge.



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# The winds of change in the trade unions

by the Editors

The gap between the rank and file trade union activists and the union leadership has been widening. The present business-as-usual office holders have been coasting along on the apathy of the ranks which, of course, they deplore, though their policies continue to reinforce it.

But there are ever-increasing signs that there is a growing layer of younger, educated, articulate male, with an increasing number of female workers, who want to turn the unions into fighting instruments capable of breaking through the present pattern of contracts that rarely keep wages in line with inflationary wage cuts and provide little or no defence at all against shutdowns, layoffs and mounting unemployment. Many of them see the unions as possible instruments in a struggle for fundamental social change.

An important victory for these forces has been struck by the election of Sudbury Steelworkers Local 6500 President David Patterson to

*Continued on page 2*

## Winds of change

*Continued from page 1*

the post of District 16 director of the United Steelworkers of America. Patterson scored a clear victory over incumbent Stuart Cooke, and over the District 6 staff that went all out for him, and the leadership of hundreds of the smaller locals who have become dependent on the District office machine. The neck and neck contest in 450-odd scattered smaller locals was transcended by sweeping victories in the key Big Three (Sudbury, Stelco, Algoma) to give Patterson 28,803 votes to Cooke's 23,279. Almost 53% of the members, the highest ever, cast their ballots.

This is no flash-in-the-pan victory. While only 32, Patterson is a well known, respected experienced unionist. A hard-rock underground miner at 18 he became the president of the powerful Sudbury local when 27. He led the local membership into a strike against the U.S.-owned corporate giant INCO in 1978-79, when Cooke recommended that there was no alternative but to accept a 4% offer, and with the then Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis' cry that it was "madness," that they were "playing into the corporation's hands,"



David Patterson of Steel greets Jean-Claude Parrot, CUPW leader

ringing in their ears.

With a series of innovative actions, such as the organization of a striking miners' wives support committee, and a campaign that won support of union locals and labor councils across the country, almost nine months later the negotiating committee had an improved offer in their hands which, with Patterson's approval, they recommended be accepted.

When the membership instructed the committee to return to the

bargaining table to get more, Patterson admitted he was wrong and after further negotiations forcing the company to increase its offer, the contract was accepted.

While Cooke's campaign was based on the District's 60 full-time reps, the campaign behind Patterson was carried by dozens of local 6500 activists who arranged their holidays to do so. It did not present a charismatic leader alleged to know all the answers and displaying a full hand of promises, but a series of leaflets, backed up by local meetings, that presented a program for rank and file action. Up front were proposals that would put the union fully into the hands of the membership — including more coordinated bargaining, particularly by small locals in the same industry. While not clearly spelled out, perhaps a key factor in the Patterson victory was the commitment to establish a new relationship with the Pittsburgh-based Steel leadership through a separate Canadian constitution.

In recognition of the importance of Patterson's victory, CBRT Educational Director Ed Finn devoted his entire June 15 column in the Toronto daily *Star* to it.

After downplaying his election victory as not so much a victory for Patterson and what he represents, as a vote against Cooke, Finn pretends to address Patterson himself while he attempts to kill every hope and expectation that has been aroused. Couched as warnings they are nothing but prophecies of defeat.

There have been other Pattersons, "almost without exception they've become part of the establishment... the labor relations system is too deeply entrenched and they have been left with no other choice... when you are on the inside you become part of the system yourself and you learn to adapt to it" ...etc etc. Patronizingly he tells Patterson not to depend for the realization of even the smallest part of his program on the mobilization of the ranks and the building of a mass base, but on "consensus and building support among your peers....," that is, on other office holders.

But the victory of Patterson and supporters is the result of a totally opposite outlook and defiance of this.

We prefer to believe that the Patterson victory will be seen by other militants as one that can be emulated and so lay the basis for a new beginning. Besides, there is no alternative—other than to become an apologist for the status quo like Finn.

### CORRECTION

In the course of editing John Griffin's article on the "Gang of Four Trial" (Forward, Feb.-Mar. 1981) for size, the editors created a false impression. Mao's long-standing coalition policy with the capitalist Kuomintang and its leader Chiang-Kai-shek was smashed in 1949 by the mass pressure of the peasant revolution, which swept the CP into power.



# Still time to fight for constituent assembly

by the Editors

July 1st has passed without the hoopla of Trudeau's patriated constitution. The multi-million dollar plans to celebrate the event have been cancelled; the anticipated political speeches shelved. Everyone has returned to waiting. And waiting. And waiting.

For New Democrats the message should be clear. There still is time to turn the party around, to save its independence and its future by breaking the Trudeau-Broadbent alliance on this key issue and promoting a socialist vision of a new Canada to be drafted by a constituent assembly representing the people who built this country and created its wealth.

The Liberals have no mandate to foist a constitution on Canada. A constitution should emanate from a representative assembly delegated and empowered to reflect and codify the aspirations of the majority of Canadians. Support for such an assembly extends well beyond the NDP. One coalition advocating this position, headed by Ottawa's NDP Mayor Marion Dewar, includes the key leaders of the Presbyterian, Catholic and Anglican churches, the Native Indian Brotherhood, and women's, handicapped and anti-poverty groups. As a body representing the grassroots organizations in society, such an assembly would be a natural forum for the NDP to popularize the challenge of a socialist Canada.

The present proposed constitution, nervously awaiting benediction by the Supreme Court, is an insult to Saskatchewan's struggles to maintain control over its resources in the interest of its working people, and to the national aspirations of the Québécois, the Inuit and the Native people. The ambiguous Charter of Rights, touted as a codification of humanist aspirations, will merely invite the conservative judiciary to expand the powers of the U.S. and Canadian corporate elite who rule Canada, while denying workers their right to join a trade union of their choice and to strike, should they democratically decide to do so.

There is still time to turn the party around. Even the leaked Kirby report revealed the government's opinion that the process of approving a new constitution would take one and a half to two years. There is no reason for the Supreme Court to compromise its image of independence by rushing to meet the federal government's schedule. It has already compromised itself too much in the eyes of many observers as a tool of the federal government.

Major political and judicial battles will undoubtedly result from any decision that the court renders. "I won't go into chapter and verse, but we are going to fight to the end," declared Lévesque, as he announced Quebec would fight the federal plan "both as a provincial government battling alongside others against unjustified interference in its responsibilities and also as a national government of a distinct people and society. Whatever comes from the court, as far as we are concerned the project will continue to be completely illegitimate, politically unjustifiable and even immoral."

For the NDP to succumb to the illusion that the constitutional question has been laid to rest by the Broadbent-Trudeau deal would deny us a major opportunity to advance the socialist vision of what Canada could be.

Such a vision would permit the NDP to elaborate a program designed to meet the needs of all those segments of a society presently frustrated by the big business governments that rule through the BNA Act: women, Métis, the Québécois, Native people, labor, students, farmers. The NDP has the opportunity to propound a program to mobilize and assist all these groups to exert control over their lives within the context of an independent and socialist Canada.

Furthermore the Broadbent-Trudeau constitutional arrangement is fraught with peril for the NDP as a party of labor, not only independent of but in opposition to and committed to actually supplant the parties of capital. The Broadbent-Trudeau constitutional arrangement undermines the NDP's very reason for existence. It is no accident that Trudeau has revealed that from his party's point of view it even involved an offer of seats to the NDP parliamentary caucus in the Liberal cabinet itself.

The party must be wrenched back from the perilous path that Broadbent's maneuvers have launched it on. It must be directed onto a completely new course. The fight for a constituent assembly offers such an alternative.

## Fund drive ends close to its goal

by the Editors

As we go to press, the Forward Fund Drive pledges are getting close to the \$4,000 mark—\$1,000 short of our target goal. Certainly we regard this as a partial success but we hope to make the whole amount by last-minute pledges, as we close the books.

Forward can play an important role in the next while. There is a left mood developing in the party out of the after-shock of the Ontario election where unprincipled opportunism failed utterly at the polls. Mr. Broadbent's cozening up to the Liberal government on the constitutional issue has so badly compromised the provincial parties' fortunes that the Saskatchewan party has had to take its distance from the federal party. The dissident mood is so powerful and open that the NDP leader in New Brunswick has called for Broadbent's resignation.

Forward must continue to promote a militant, socialist perspective to meet the developing consciousness within the party. It must also serve to remind socialists outside the party that they are irrelevant outside the arena where great events portend the reshaping of working class politics in Canada.

The socialist option is ours to win—but it requires the sustained voice of a militant socialist press. We can all make a contribution. You can make yours by sending in a cheque or money order to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St.P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.



# Laborers break, join CLC showdown struggle for Cdn union autonomy

by P. Kent

On June 15, following a Montreal meeting of all its business agents in Canada, the 52,000-strong Laborer's International Union broke ranks with the U.S. building trades brass and came over, en bloc, to directly affiliate to the Canadian Labour Congress.

With continued blackmail of the CLC by the U.S.-based leadership of the Building Trades through withholding the Canadian memberships' dues from the congress, the CLC executive had no alternative but to suspend those unions. It did so with the expiration of the deadline that had been set months earlier, on April 30. On the eve of the deadline the U.S. Building Trades brass, from their offices in Washington, with no mandate of any kind from any sector of their Canadian membership and in complete violation of many expressed demands from their members that they turn over to the CLC the dues collected in Canada, issued a declaration of war on the Canadian labor movement.

Over the signature of AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department Executive-secretary James McCambly, they announced the formation of a new Confederation of Labour, in order to provide their roadmen with a Canadian cover. One of their top Canadian stooges, Ken Rose, promptly held out the welcome sign to any other unions that might, for whatever reason, desire to find a cover for their desertion from the CLC, and suggested that the 100,000 Canadian members of the Teamsters Union might be handed over by their Washington brass to help launch the new confederation in high style in October.

The split in the Canadian labor movement is now a simple and hard fact of life. The battle has been joined. It is not a matter of wringing our hands over the rupture of a "unity", that was a fraudulent one in any case. The issue is to win the war, to consolidate labor's ranks on a higher plane that establishes beyond challenge the completely autonomous

character of Canadian unions, no matter what relations they may choose to form with fellow unionists in the U.S. and elsewhere, and that opens the way for the consolidation of labor's ranks so that it can effectively defend and extend labor's interests in struggle against U.S. and Canadian corporate power over Canada.

In acceptance of the Laborer's Union affiliation, the CLC executive agreed to their proposal that efforts continue to be made to resolve the difference with the building trades brass. But of the three issues over which the building trades brass have attempted to justify their split, McDermott dismissed Quebec as a "closed book." Despite the Washington brass' clamping a trusteeship, enforced by a court order, over the 6,000 member Carpenters' local in Montreal, over 60,000 Quebec construction workers commenced to pay their dues through the CLC offices on June 1.

With the defection of the Building Trades, several CLC industrial affiliates moved to win into their own ranks particularly the in-house craft operations, and so keep them in the CLC. While Rose called them "raids", McDermott dismissed such disputes as an inherent part of the situation. The only area open for discussion, McDermott is reported to have said, is that of representation at CLC conventions. The delegates at the last two conventions resoundingly declared their determination to block any tampering with the present democratic structures of representation.

The CLC executive itself delayed and procrastinated several years before coming to grips with the heads of the extremely bureaucratized craft unions at their meetings. Many of them have a poor record on questions of union democracy and in particular Canadian autonomy. McDermott himself, when head of the Auto-workers, imposed the U.S. leadership's compliance with Nixon's wage

freeze on Toronto Douglas Aircraft workers covered by a so-called international contract. Today, while driven in a life and death struggle to draw the line against the building trades brass, they are meeting reluctance and even opposition from sectors which in normal times are a key part of their base.

The CLC has had to threaten to lift the charter of the Saskatchewan Confederation of Labour.

Instructed by the CLC executive to suspend building trades delegates, the BC Federation of Labour executive Council was first lined up "to do everything possible to have the Building Trades remain in the Federation," even by payment of CLC dues to the BC Federation itself. On June 3 the council reversed its position, which will now probably swing the Vancouver and Port Alberni labor councils to suspend Building Trades delegates.

Nonetheless, on June 17 former BC Federation President James Kinnaid headed a committee representing building trades locals across the country seeking to have the CLC amend its formula so as to relieve them from supporting the new CLC provincial trades departments by way of paying dues direct to provincial labor federations. The CLC unanimously drew the line — it rejected the proposal.

This struggle is possibly the most important inner union struggle in Canadian history, comparable to the fight to break the stranglehold of craft unionism and launch the crusade, under the banner of the CIO, to organize North American workers in mass industrial unions. That conflict long pent up in the American Federation of Labor was finally released when John L. Lewis put himself at its head by striking Carpenters' Union head William Hutcheson on the jaw at the 1935 AFL convention. That blow resounded up into Oshawa and echoed from Canada's East to West Coast.

The struggle for Canadian trade union autonomy has not yet reached that pitch but it has the possibility,

once given its head, of cutting through alienation and conservatising vested interests to launch Canadian labor onto a higher plane.

## *But which side are you on?*

The *Canadian Tribune* carried a statement of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada which, while supporting the struggle for Canadian autonomy, outlined a program of **Five Constructive Steps**. The CP's policy would couple "the struggle for autonomy with the struggle for unity, fighting off those forces from the right, which denied the need for autonomy, and the forces from some confused elements of the left, the right and the entire ultra-left who chose the pursuit of autonomy through splitting and divisions."

Among its five proposals: it would leave the final resolution of the dispute now in process until the 1982 CLC convention; it would continue negotiations with the building trades; it would allow all building trades locals to remain affiliated to provincial federations and local labor councils which wish to do so; it would allow industrial components of the building trades as well as construction locals to affiliate to the CLC's new building trades set up, and it would have the CLC make a clear and unequivocal statement that no raiding of building trades unions will be tolerated.

This statement was issued April 7 before what was clearly in the cards, the suspension of the building trades from the CLC for its dues blackmailing and its launching of the opposition Canadian Federation of Labour. But this line is still guiding its supporters as at the June 4 Metro Toronto Labour Council meeting.



# Dowson case heads to Supreme Court

by Harry Paine

An appeal has been launched by Ross Dowson of the Federal Court of Appeal's dismissal of the only civil action against the RCMP arising out of the shocking revelations concerning their harassment and violation of the civil rights of dissident groups in the 60s and 70s. The latest attempt to block the Dowson case was the unanimous decision handed down on May 26th by the Federal Court of Appeal (composed of Judges Le Dain, Ryan and McKay) which held that the statements complained of were made on an occasion of "absolute privilege", thereby giving their makers immunity from civil liability.

Dowson, through his lawyer Harry Kopyto, immediately announced their intention to apply for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada this fall. The Socialist Rights Defence Fund has issued a special appeal to raise the funds necessary to see the case through to the Supreme Court. The case has been blocked from the very beginning by RCMP motions seeking to dismiss it. As a result, the

RCMP has been able to avoid answering a variety of embarrassing questions which the McDonald Commission would appear not to have delved into.

Dowson launched his suit in the fall of 1977 when the RCMP and the federal Liberal government slandered the now defunct League for Socialist Action, an organization completely supportive of the NDP of which he was the leader, along with unnamed "ex-communists," as subversive.

The Federal Court ruling held that these statements were being made on behalf of the Minister of Justice. However, lawyer Harry Kopyto, who along with Carl Brand represented Dowson in the hearing last December 9th, said that the ruling not only blocked the case from going to trial but for the first time extended immunity from lawsuits to members of the police force. Previously, such immunity attached only to statements made by government ministers, judges and members of parliament. Kopyto said that arguments

accepted by the court, namely: that the RCMP were acting pursuant to a minister's instructions and that the statement was made on the minister's behalf, could be applied to any employee at any level of government. This decision clothed the entire government apparatus with a royal prerogative more appropriate to the feudal era. If Dowson can be slandered with immunity, anyone anywhere can be slandered with immunity. This decision not only violates the common law as it has developed in other Commonwealth countries such as Australia and England but poses a threat to everyone concerned with public accountability.

As NDP Member of Parliament and Justice critic Svend Robinson stated, if the case is to come to trial, "it will require all of us to unite to see the case through." Contributions should be forwarded to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, c/o Harry Paine, president, St. David's NDP, 50 Thorncliffe Avenue, Toronto, M4K 1V5.

## Court acquits Kopyto

The Supreme Court of Canada rejected an application to appeal the acquittal of human rights lawyer Harry Kopyto on contempt charges June 23rd, thereby ending a seven-month campaign which took on the character of political persecution.

The harassment of this lawyer, who represents Ross Dowson in a half million dollar slander action and who is attempting to get criminal charges laid on Dowson's behalf against RCMP officers who committed serious crimes against Dowson's co-thinkers, had been conducted with the approval of the attorney general for Ontario and the minister of justice in Canada. These same individuals are directly and personally involved in the opposition to the Dowson court action.

The harassment of Kopyto began last December when County Court Judge Hawkins found him in contempt for postponing a serious drug trial on the grounds that he wished to celebrate Hannukah with his family. The Ontario Court of Appeal over-

turned the two dollar fine and cleared Kopyto of the charges after finding that the lawyer had wanted his evenings free to celebrate the holiday.

Kopyto has clashed with Attorney-General McMurtry and Justice Minister Robert Kaplan in the past. He presented evidence to the Keable, McDonald and Krever Commissions concerning RCMP crimes on behalf of Dowson and other politically dissident groups.

Support for Kopyto has been widespread with numerous letters and petitions from lawyers calling for a cessation of his harassment. Members of the Law Union, who sent a telegram protesting his persecution to Attorney-General McMurtry, have appealed for funds to assist in his defence. Contributions towards defraying the legal expenses incurred by Kopyto should be forwarded to the law firm of Pinkofsky, Lockyer and Martin, 439 University Avenue, Suite 1550, Toronto, Ontario.



# Que Keable Report results in charges

by Ross Dowson

The first recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry into Police Operations in the jurisdiction of Quebec, headed by Quebec Justice Department lawyer Jean Keable, which was released back in March, is now being acted upon. On June 11, the Quebec Justice Department laid a series of charges against 17 current or former RCMP officers implicated in six operations directed against organizations of legitimate dissent—among them the present governing party of Quebec, the Parti Québécois—which the commission declared to be illegal—“clearly breaking sections of the Canadian Criminal Code.” Among those charged are such top officers as an RCMP commissioner, a superintendent, several inspectors, etc., for a wide range of crimes, including: conspiracy, breaking and entry, theft, arson, possession of dynamite, etc. Quebec Justice Department officials are reported to be studying the possibility of laying further charges.

Neither the Ontario Krever Commission (nor the Alberta's attorney-general's office involved in the Laycraft commission which found violations of the law) recommended, as did the Keable commission, that charges be laid. Had Justice Krever done so he would have implicated the RCMP, Ontario provincial and municipal police authorities, top civil servants, leading members of the legal profession, and even federal cabinet members.

## Can cripple RCMP

Solicitor-General Kaplan, following a rare Sunday cabinet meeting on June 14, announced that the federal government, which had attempted to block the Keable inquiry at every turn and even succeeded in closing it down for a period, is now prepared to cooperate with Quebec officials. His department, in keeping with long-established practice, he said, is prepared with public funds to provide legal assistance to the charged RCMP officers, and that it will be perusing the McDonald Commission Report now in his hands, to see whether, contrary to his previous intimations that it does not recommend charges, there is any overlapping of recommended prosecutions.

The Quebec government's action directs what could be a crippling blow at the RCMP, a para-military force under the jurisdiction of Ottawa which has a long record of harassing trade unions as inimical to the stability of the capitalist status quo and against adherents of Marxism as self-admitted purveyors of “dangerous thoughts,” and “subversives” as defined in the Criminal Code.

## Investigated 6 operations

Ever since the chance admission by a junior RCMP officer appearing before a Quebec court that he had done “worse things” than he was being charged with, which led to the appointment of the Keable Inquiry, the RCMP has been reeling under exposure after exposure of its violations of the law and civil rights. One of the most sensational was the revelation by the McDonald Commission of “Operation Checkmate”—that the RCMP carried out a series of operations, spanning a period from 1969 to December 1973, against a wide range of individuals, groups and political parties, including the NDP, designed to intimidate them, disrupt them, and if possible to destroy them.

The Keable Inquiry investigated six police operations, commencing with: (1) Operation Bricole (Odd Job), the late Fall 1972 break-in and thefts at the Montreal offices of Agence Presse de Libération du Québec and the Movement for the Defence of Quebec Political Prisoners—some two years after Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act and only four months after the Watergate incident in Washington;

*Continued overleaf*

*Continued from overleaf*

(2) Operation Ham, the January 1973 break-in and theft of the membership list of the Parti Québécois with the pretence that it would divulge the source of funds coming into the country from a foreign power and the names of independentist infiltrators and traitors in the federal government;

(3) The April 1972 burning of the barn, Le Petit Québec Libre, used by independentists in Sainte-Anne-de-la-Rochelle;

(4) The theft in April 1972 of dynamite in Rougemont; (5) the recruitment of informers by reprehensible and illegal means, and (6) the forging and distribution of false communiqués in the name of the terrorist Front de Libération du Québec. Five of these operations involved the RCMP only. The operation, code-named Odd Job, involved also the Surêté Québec and the Montreal police.

Appearing prominently in the report are the escapades of a Carole de Vault—Agent 171, code-named Poupette (Babydoll), who began to function as a police agent shortly after the October Crisis—in November 1970—when she got involved in a robbery of a place where she had a part-time job. The report identifies Pierre Bouchard, formerly of the *Journal de Montréal*, as a member of the Canadian Army and an RCMP collaborator. The names of Agent 167, 168 and 195 are not revealed. De Vault was involved in six incidents—actually participating in the carrying out of four—reports of which unfold like a parody of a Laurel and Hardy movie. Lieut-Det. Julien Giguere of the Montreal police anti-terrorist squad was her handler to whom she reported regularly.

In January 1971 she wrote and distributed in the name of the FLQ, a communiqué dealing with the tossing of a Molotov cocktail at the door of a Brinks armored truck company garage. Although police were warned and 38 of them were involved in following the participants' car, they lost sight of it for 23 minutes at exactly the time the

to p2  
→

AGENT PROVOCATEUR



Carole de Vault

POLICE SPY [226]



François Seguin



# Keable Report

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bomb was tossed. In February 1971 she was involved in placing a bomb at a postal station which, unknown to the other three participants, was a dud. Although the police were watching from nearby, and Giguere alerted police in a nearby station, no arrests were made. In another incident involving the robbery of a bingo game being held in a church basement, about which the priest had been warned, four FLQers were arrested.

## Acted as provocateurs

"We can't help at being astonished," reads the report, "that on the one hand the police tried to stop (the four) by firing six shots, and then on the other, the Crown asked for sentences that were so far from being exemplary, they resulted in mere \$25 fines." Commenting on the police role the report reads: "The commission feels that certain of the Montreal policemen involved in Operation Poupette systematically failed in their duty (of preventing crime) ... Far from preserving public order, their actions had the effect of accentuating the confusion of the public regarding the resurgence of terrorism (after October 1970)."

Commenting on the role of police-informer de Vault the report notes: "It is important to underline that far from having diminished the terrorist activities of the group she had infiltrated, Mme. de Vault's presence prolonged them by guaranteeing immunity to those involved." Referring to the bingo theft in which she played a determining role, including choosing the target, "The commission feels that (her) role ... is closer to provocation than simple information gathering."

In its conclusion the 7th chapter of the report states: "The preceding chapters of the report indicate that far from stopping a resurgence, terrorism was progressively made an object of an encirclement on the part of police forces since November 1970. This encirclement closed in at one point to such an extent that police Captain Giguere could boast before Me. Jean-François Duchaine that in the year 1972 the FLQ was us."

That is possibly why Keable, a former PQ candidate, ends his epilogue with the sentence: "In the final analysis, only the State and its police apparatus gains through terrorism." Keable, provoked in the course of a public hearing back in November 1979, shouted out that a witness—François Seguin (Agent 226)—is a police plant, and ordered the Montreal police to turn over their files on him. This case is going to the Supreme Court as a test of the extent to which police can protect the identity of their spies and agents—called human "sources."

## Far-reaching proposals

Early this year *In Struggle*, the central organ of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada, denounced Seguin "as an informer paid by the Montreal police since at least 1972." Under the guise of a militant, Seguin penetrated a considerable number of organizations of the Montreal Left—working as a police agent from 1976 to 1980 within the *In Struggle* organization.

The 451-page Keable Report (available in French only), limits itself to police operations without placing them in the political context when the repressive and provocative actions of the police were fully approved of and were even being fuelled by political and government leaders. Trudeau-protégé, former Quebec Liberal Party leader, and now Senator Jean Marchand, backed up his cry that all Canada was confronted with "an apprehended insurrection" requiring the imposition of the War Measures Act, with the hysterical cry that the FLQ was 5,000 strong. Montreal's Mayor Drapeau smeared the Montreal civic reform movement FRAP as preparing "to push the Montreal population towards a blood bath." Quebec Justice Minister Choquette, popularly known as Jérôme-the-bludgeon, gave the police unlimited power "to make sure that law and order are respected."

Keable's recommendation that the Quebec Department of Justice lay charges against the police, as they have now done, is only the first of 12 recommendations, some of them expanded in considerable detail. Among the more significant are:

No. 5 states that the assignment of a police agent to an individual or a group of persons must not be done without the authorization of

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**"DOWSON v. RCMP"**

"...with the release of the McDonald Commission report on the RCMP 'dirty tricks' Dowson's case has suddenly become a *cause célèbre*. As the only action in progress against the RCMP's own subversion of civil rights it has become the focal point of protest."

—Alastair McColl, editor of *THE PEAK*, S.F.U.

"I haven't heard such enlightening discussion of Marxism for perhaps twenty-five, thirty years." —Justice Krever on Dowson's testimony before his commission, reproduced in part in this book.

"I read it with considerable interest and appreciation. It makes a needed contribution—I say this without agreeing with your basic political platform." John Sawatsky, author of *MEN IN THE SHADOWS* (Doubleday, \$5.00)



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police services under the control of the Quebec administration of justice.

No. 7 recommends that Para. 3C of Article 16 of the Official Secrets Act be explicitly modified in such a way that the only exception to Part IV-1 of the Criminal Code (dealing with violation of privacy) involves, without exception, foreign subversion only.

No. 10 calls for the creation of a central registry of operations being carried out by police under the Quebec Administration of Justice where the rights of citizens are most likely to be violated, with the registrar accountable to the Legislative Assembly.

No. 11 recommends the abolition of Article 41(2) of the Federal Court Act—this article, conferring privilege of absolute immunity to federal executive powers is without precedent in any major country guided by Anglo-Saxon law.

No. 12 recommends finally that all the commission's files that have been made public be deposited by the Quebec government in an accessible place—a library or centre of documentation—where they will be readily available to the public.

The vigor and the depth to which Quebec's PQ government pursues the charges that it has laid against the RCMP, and whether it acts on the other recommendations of the Keable Inquiry will be closely watched by the federal government which controls the RCMP, the other provincial governments responsible for the enforcement of the Criminal Code within their jurisdiction, and above all by working men and women concerned with civil rights in Canada.



06-08-7a

# RCMP and the State, topic at McMaster U.

by Paul Kane

This year's McMaster University Jinuel Briggs lecture series took as its theme **Dimensions of Canadian Radicalism**. Ross Dowson addressed the April 8 gathering on the topic **The Canadian State's Reaction to Radicalism**. Prominent academics such as Reg Whittaker of Carleton University had addressed previous gatherings. Dowson is a onetime Steelworker and a longtime socialist activist-journalist, currently involved in two highly significant legal suits against the RCMP and its political handlers.

In the course of his address Dowson drew heavily on the circumstances that gave rise to his half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP and incidents that have dev-



Ross Dowson

eloped in the course of the suit. Its overriding aim, he said, is to establish the right to be a radical, to hold views (Marxist views) without being harassed and slandered by state authorities as a subversive and to be able to work freely for the achievement of these aims within the hard-won democratic structures that exist in Canada.

This struggle has been an ongoing one as those familiar with the history of the labor and socialist movement know. In its brief to the McDonald Commission, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor stated that the trade union movement has been "implicitly branded" by the RCMP Security Forces as subversive." This struggle has once again been brought to the fore with the heads of the Canadian state taking advantage of the October Crisis of 1970 to impose the totalitarian War Measures Act on all Canada in the hope of rolling back the rising forces of trade union

militancy, stimulated in Quebec by powerful nationalist sentiments. Having been given every encouragement, the RCMP, a para-military police force under the control of the federal government, was launched into a massive cross-Canada assault against the entire range of organizations of legitimate dissent in the hope of crippling them and if possible destroying them.

In order to evade answering the simple question as to whether the Ontario NDP had been subject to investigation and harassment, the solicitor-general and the RCMP admitted, not to investigating the NDP as such, but, in actual fact, to intervening in its internal affairs against alleged subversive elements such as Dowson and unnamed ex-Communists within it.

Dowson noted that his slander suit initiated almost four years ago has been blocked at every level by the judiciary. It has not even reached the preliminary stage of examination of discovery, thus protecting government and police officials from searching questioning. A federal court judge has ruled that the contested police statement is privileged and not subject to suit, thereby permit-

ting the authorities to label anyone they choose as a subversive, and with complete impunity. This is being appealed.

The RCMP, under oath, testified before the Krever Commission that there was no evidence whatsoever that the police had violated the security of Ontario health information. The bosses of Canada's national newspaper, **The Globe and Mail**, collaborated by assigning their reporter who first revealed certain facts, to a post beyond the jurisdiction of the commission. But when Dowson presented certain evidence, they suddenly confessed that they had forged and circulated letters in an organization that he had been the

Continued overleaf

→ to page 2





# **State covering up RCMP crimes, a victim of their 'dirty tricks' charges**

*Continued from overleaf*

leader of — in an attempt to destabilize it.

With the Ontario attorney-general's failure to respond to pressure that he lay charges against two top RCMP officers involved, Dowson's lawyers launched a process through a justice of the peace to have charges laid. After a series of delaying actions, Attorney-General Roy McMurtry ordered a stay of proceedings, thereby compromising the longstanding right to initiate private

prosecutions through a lower court. This is being appealed with the aid of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

It was following the RCMP's confession before Justice Krever that the McDonald Commission released heretofore top secret evidence on Operation Checkmate in which this appeared as Case 13. The McDonald Commission's refusal to invite Dowson to testify was upheld by the court which levied costs of \$800 when he

sought an order to compel it to do so. In his testimony before the McDonald Commission, the RCMP director-general did in no way even suggest that the targetted organizations were "advocates of force as a means of governmental change," the definition of subversive under the Criminal Code, or were agents of a foreign power threatening Canada's national security. He testified that they were declared to be subversive "for want of a better word... where it was clearly seen that the purpose of an organization or individuals were at cross-purposes with the maintenance of domestic stability..."

In the stimulating discussion that followed his contribution, Dowson commented on two recent studies of the Canadian state — a key question of concern to all interested in fundamental social change. He noted that the RCMP doesn't even get mention, let alone study, in the series of essays: **The Canadian State, Political Economy and Political Power**, edited by Leo Panich. David Olsen, in his essay, referring to institutional power, mentions the courts, and the military and the police among state elites, including the heads of the Canadian military and police in the bureaucratic elite. In his more extensive work, **The State Elite**, in the chapter on the Judicial Elite and Class Justice, Olsen mentions the RCMP in its breaking of the Newfoundland Woodworkers 1959 strike, but largely from the jurisdictional dispute between Smallwood and Ottawa.

From this essential fight for civil rights that we must all be directly involved in, said Dowson, a useful spinoff by McMaster students could be a series of studies of the RCMP, a blatantly coercive element of the Canadian state.

## **Ottawa hoists RCMP price**

Ottawa is putting the heat on eight of the ten provinces and the 20 municipalities which still contract-in for the services of approximately 10,000 RCMP officers as their provincial and municipal police force. It wants them to increase their share from 56% to 75% of the RCMP tab — an increase of \$100 million annually. The contracts expired back on April 1st and negotiations are continuing to drag on.

An important element in the delay, no doubt, is the revelation of the flood of RCMP "dirty tricks" violations of the Criminal Code that took place over the past decade, apparently without the knowledge of the provincial attorneys-general who are actually charged with responsibility for the enforcement of the law.

On top of that, the Supreme Court ruled on May 27, that while the citizens in those jurisdictions are being asked to pay up more, the RCMP forces are to continue to remain outside of the control of the local authorities. Alberta sought to have the RCMP subject to the same provisions as other police forces — that the enforcement board should be able to investigate complaints while leaving disciplinary action to RCMP authorities. Though Alberta was backed by seven other provinces, the Supreme Court ruled that RCMP officers cannot be summoned before a provincial investigative body — that only the para-military RCMP's disciplinary code holds sway.

It would seem elementary, under such circumstances, that the Saskatchewan New Democratic Party government would not renew its contract with the federal government and its RCMP forces, but would follow Quebec and Ontario who have their own provincial forces subject to their control.

## **Alta dismisses RCMP crime against Farm Union**

Last month Alberta's Attorney-General Neil Crawford revealed that the RCMP had some ten years ago forged and circulated letters with the aim of discrediting and destabilising the National Farmers Union in that province. The information was released at this time to the Alberta Attorney-General by Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan presumably from information made available by the McDonald Commission, for reasons that we could only speculate on.

The letters appear to be signed by Communist Party officials and had as their aim the branding of several persons in the Farmers Union as secret members of that

party. They are apparently part of Operation Checkmate which in turn was one of several other RCMP operations spanning from 1969 to December 1973 directed against prominent individuals and trade union, political, religious and cultural organizations considered by those in authority to be of an anti-status quo character.

Crawford told the press that while the letters "had the desired effect" of disrupting the Farmers Union he was not laying criminal charges against the RCMP and those responsible, as the forgeries were "more of a mischievous nature" and didn't warrant such action.

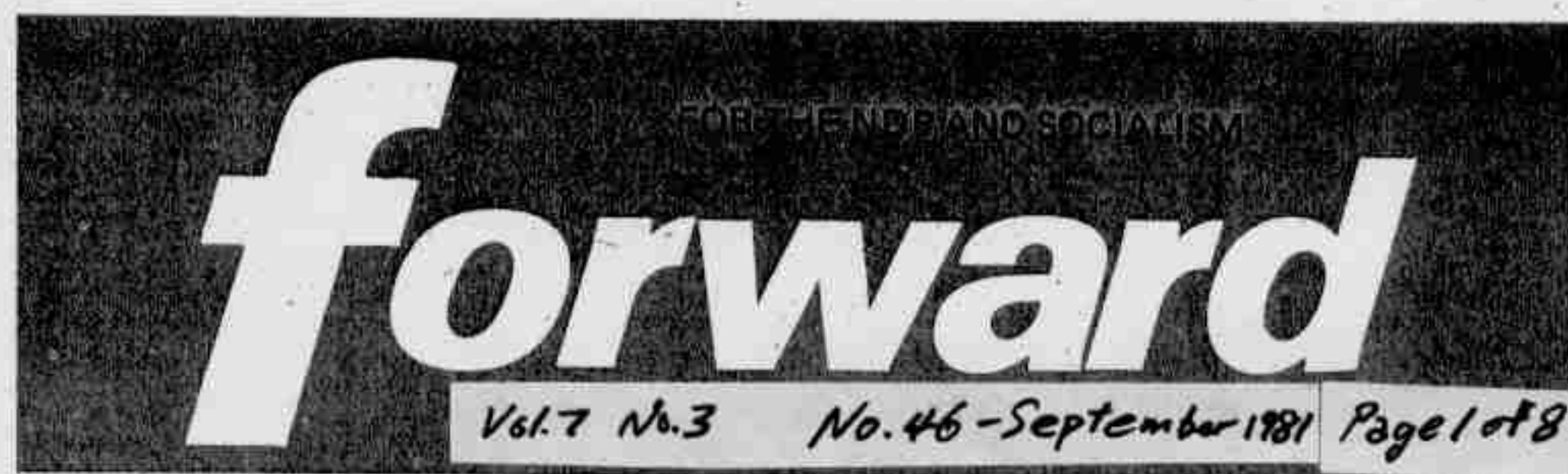


# Inside Poland today

## Program of Solidarity

### For Workers Control

### For Socialist Democracy



## Program of the Polish trade union — Solidarity

### I. Basic Values

Our union was formed barely half a year ago as a result of the struggle of the workers, supported by the whole country. Today we are a powerful social force, encompassing millions of members. Thanks to this, all working people in Poland can at last advance their common aims with dignity and effectiveness. We were born out of the protest against injustice, humiliation, and abuse. We are an independent and self-governing union of working people of all regions and occupations. We defend the rights, dignity, and interests of all workers.

We want to peacefully shape the life of our country in accordance with patriotic ideals, social justice, and democratic rights. As a trade union, we do not aim to replace the government in performing its tasks, but we do want to represent the interests of working people in relation to the state. We will thus defend the rights of the individual, the citizen, and the worker. At the same time, we do not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of our people and country.

1. The best national traditions, the ethical principles of Christianity, the political banner of democracy, and the social thought of socialism — these are the four main sources of our inspiration.

We feel a deep attachment to the entire legacy of Polish culture, which is rooted in European culture, with a strong tie to Catholicism, but also with links to quite varied religious and philosophical traditions. We feel a very close bond with the generations of Poles who have struggled for national liberation and social justice. They have left us a tradition of openmindedness and brotherhood, of civic responsibility for the Polish Republic and of support for equality before the law. Therefore, we have room for everyone, regardless of philosophy, nationality, or political conviction.

2. The idea that working people should join together means that we rate very highly the values that grow out of collective action. These include solidarity — after which we have named our union — comradeship, the capacity for sacrifice, and the willingness to contribute for the benefit of the union and for the broader interests of society as well. Finally, one of the values must be the idea of brotherhood among working people in a common front against the exploiters, regardless of the banners and slogans under which their exploitation is masked.

3. Our basic task — the defense of working people — is based on the principle of observing social justice. We shall strive to have this principle recognized as the basis for all state activities. We want it to become the foundation of all solutions in the domains of social policy and the organization of collective life.

To us, social justice is based on the inherent integrity of the individual, the dignity of the worker and his labor. We want the principle of the dignity of the individual to

permeate the entire life of our union and to be the basic building stone of a new society.

From the principles of social justice and the dignity of the individual, it follows that all people are basically equal. We shall therefore press for the realization of egalitarianism in society.

We recognize the principle that wages depend on the quantity and quality of labor, as well as the difficulty and hazards of the job ("to each according to their work").

*Continued on page 2*



Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing precipitated Gdansk Shipyard strike, addressing rally.

## A crucial document

### By the Editors

The editors of **Forward** are devoting this entire issue to the publication of the complete text of the program of the independent Polish trade union movement, Solidarity. This document first appeared in the April issue of **Tygodnik Solidarnosc** (Solidarity Weekly), the third issue of the union's national newspaper.

It was drawn up for circulation and discussion by the union's more than ten million members, about 90% of the working class, in preparation for the first national congress of the union which assembled early this month in Gdansk. It was the strike of the Gdansk shipyard workers which just one year ago ignited a series of massive struggles which swept across the country forcing the Polish Communist Party government to recognize that Solidarity had in effect pushed aside and replaced its official trade union machinery to become the authentic voice of the Polish working class.

As Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said to an International Labour Organization meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 5, "Our union was born out of protest. Using the traditional methods of workers' struggle — demonstrations and strikes — it contributed in a definitive way to launching a profound transformation of the social and political life of the country. There is no area which has remained unaffected by this process of renewal."

"Even though we are aware this is only the beginning of these changes, no one in Poland has any doubt as to the fact that there is no way back to the previous methods of ruling the country and governing its economy."

Solidarity, he said, "has become the greatest, the largest social organization in the history of my country. Its members... are joined by one common striving... life in civic freedom, in freedom of thought and speech, in human dignity, and national sovereignty..."

The Polish upsurge focussed through Solidarity is so profound that the chief instrument of the privileged Polish state bureaucracy, the Communist Party of Poland,

at its recent congress was compelled to respond by making major political, social and economic concessions. One million of Solidarity's members hold cross-membership in the CP. For the first time, a Stalinist party in state power was compelled to hold direct and secret elections of delegates and a secret ballot in the elections for membership in its highest bodies — which resulted in the election of a Solidarity leader to its political bureau.

Caught between the demands of the Soviet bureaucracy, which appears to have pulled back from its threat of armed invasion, but which continues to smear the Polish movement as "counter-revolutionary", and the struggle directed against it and undermining its base, the Polish CP bureaucracy is being compelled to follow a policy of concessions and collaboration with Solidarity as the only possible alternative.

With the publication of this program and the discussion it is stimulating throughout Poland, Solidarity is preparing the masses there to face the challenges ahead — above all by moving in the direction of the establishment of a genuine workers democracy controlling and developing the nationalized property relations that prevail in the strategic industrial sectors of the economy.

As a document of the Polish workers' struggle it clarifies such questions as the role of religion, the Catholic Church, and of Polish nationalism. It clearly defines as the primary cause and the sharp exacerbation of the current economic crisis, not only bureaucratic privilege and inefficiency, but above all the barring of working class innovation and initiative from the economic decision making processes in society. Its demand for workers control and self-management defines the Polish struggle as being fundamentally for socialist democracy.

Canadian readers, besides examining the authentic views of the Polish working class movement on the problems confronting them and their solutions, can gain from the Solidarity program a heightened insight into the challenges looming before them in their own struggle for socialist democracy.



and we strive to correct unjustified disproportions in this regard. However, there is another principle that must have priority over this one—the provision of the "social minimum." This means not only the satisfaction of the elementary needs for food, clothing, and shelter, but also the satisfaction of all those social and cultural requirements that enable the individual to live a satisfying life and to develop as a person.

At the same time that we fight for a fair wage, we call on each other to be honest on the job, to maintain high work ethics, reliability, and good work. Poor work—the production of defective goods or the familiar shoddy items that no one will buy—degrades the dignity of the workers and harms society.

From the principle of equality it follows that full democracy must be assured in public life. Only under a genuinely democratic system will we be able to fight effectively for our interests as workers and as a union. Only under such a system can the principle of authentic participation by the working people in the political and social life of the country be realized. Therefore, we will press for expansion of the forms of social participation in public decision-making and in control over the activities of the authorities.

4. Our activity as a union requires that the civil rights embodied in the constitution of the Polish People's Republic be strictly observed: the right to express one's own opinions, freedom of speech and the press, the right to accurate information, the right of assembly, and the right to free association. We will defend people facing repression for exercising these rights, recognizing that repression is a violation of law and order. For the same reasons, we will strive for the removal of all restrictions on freedom of association and the restrictions connected with censorship, especially those restrictions that have nothing to do with the higher interests of the public, but that result from manipulations aimed at defending the momentary interests of the ruling circles.

5. Our union recalls the traditions of the Polish workers' movement, reviving those aspects of that legacy that strengthen us with the ideals of social justice, democracy, freedom, and independence. We enrich this legacy with the memory of the Poznan workers' demonstrations in 1956 and the bloody sacrifices of the workers on the Baltic coast in 1970 and of the workers of Radom and Ursus in 1976.

May Day plays a special symbolic role. We must imbue this holiday with a new content and a new form, so



Meeting of striking workers in Lublin.

that it becomes our holiday, the holiday of working people, and not the holiday of the state employer. And thus it must become a holiday without a division between the podium and the march; it must become a festive gathering of working people in a spirit of solidarity and equality.

6. We recognize that national values are a precious and living part of our collective consciousness and that Polish patriotism is an indispensable basis for unity and social sacrifice for the sake of the country. We note that national values are the main bonds that hold together our society today, and that in the last analysis they are the guarantee of our national independence and sovereignty. The social protest strikes of last summer, which led to the birth of our union, were also directed against the attempt to expunge national values from our public consciousness.

7. Our union is an organization encompassing many outlooks, open to people of all faiths, as well as those of no faiths. But the immense majority of our members—like the majority of our country's citizens—were brought up as Christians. Christian inspiration was one of the main ideological values included in our program. The cross that hangs next to the Polish eagle on the walls of many union offices reminds our members of the origins of their morality and instills in them a belief in the justice of our cause. We want to maintain this source of inspiration, but that in no way means we will abandon the secular character of our organization.

# Crisis continues in absence of democratic decision making

## II. The Political Sources of the Crisis

Together, we must all overcome the economic crisis that threatens us with catastrophe. But we will not be able to do that if we do not expose and eliminate its social and political causes. The core of this crisis lies in the disappearance of democratic institutions and, related to that, the abyss that exists between the people and the government in the system of public administration that has existed up to now. Also contributing to this crisis



Monument in Gdynia to workers gunned down by authorities during 1970 strikes.

have been the incorrect concepts and decisions relating to agriculture (the aim of eliminating individual peasant ownership), the preference for industry as the core of production to the detriment of consumer goods, and the government takeover of the cooperatives and the small private businesses.

1. The central feature of this system is the absence of mechanisms for democratic decision making, and the absence of any responsibility for decisions or changes made by people in administrative positions. Decisions affecting all of society are made by party and administrative organs not subject to any social control. These decisions are not preceded by free discussion, during which alternative ways to solve problems can be brought to light.

# Bureaucratic management drives Poland into debt

## III. Economic Questions

### 1. The recurrent economic crisis

The deep economic crisis in our country is manifested primarily in the enormous and growing disproportion between the supply and demand of goods and services found throughout the economy. This crisis did not arise in the last few months or the last few years, but has grown steadily over the past decade. It flowed from a serious deterioration of the productive apparatus that made it incapable of satisfying demand, either in terms of quantity or variety. The crisis has directly affected the living standards of the whole society, the conditions of work, and the real wages of working people. At present, with the crisis still deepening, we face a real drop in these already low wages.

The economic crisis of the Polish People's Republic affects its structure, economic policy, and system. And in the last few years, in addition, unfavorable conjunctural factors have appeared.

A. Defects in the economic structure as the immediate cause of the difficulties

The structural character of the crisis expresses itself in the continual and increasing disproportion between the sector of the economy that serves the needs of the people and the sector that is directed toward developing industrial production. An excessive part of the country's economic potential is used for the production of machinery and tools to produce more machinery and tools, rather than for the production of consumer goods, which is relegated to a secondary role. This is particularly true of agriculture, a section of the economy that provides for the primary needs of the people and that employs a quarter of the population, but that has been pushed into a subordinate place in the country's economy. It is obvious that an economy with this kind of structure cannot provide working people with even a reasonable standard of living.

B. Long-term defects in economic policy

The structural disproportions in the economy are the

There is no room for independent expert opinion, and no consideration of essential information on the state of the country and the economy. Thus society is excluded from the process of making decisions. They are made by one or another member of the bureaucracy.

2. Bureaucratic methods of government make it impossible to correct errors. It is often not even possible to warn about the catastrophic results of incorrect decisions. It is impossible to do this because of all the censorship and the laws on state, economic, and official secrets. But it is also impossible because of the entire system, which tends to obstruct every effort to elaborate alternative programs, every independent opinion or analysis. These obstacles are applied not only to questions of political and social importance, but also to economic and purely technical questions. This results in major losses, costing the country hundreds of billions of zlotys.

3. Within the bureaucratic system of government and economic management, there have been formed a close class of rulers not subject to control by those they rule. People in the apparatus of power make decisions more with an eye to their own personal interests, material privileges, and careers than to the interests of society. Incorrect decisions on investment (such as the construction of Huta Katowice) and the squandering of foreign loans were often the result of the interaction between mutually reinforcing or contending groups within the ruling apparatus, acting in their own interests.

In the years 1976-9, bureaucratic management made it increasingly difficult to take steps to avert the outbreak of a crisis. As a rule, the bureaucratic apparatus was also opposed to all changes or reforms that could have shaken its position, wealth, or influence.

4. As a result of all this, there was no opportunity in Poland for socioeconomic reform to save us from the crisis. The existing political system was incapable, or simply not strong enough, to correct itself. It was only through a grave economic crisis, the explosion of social protest, and the formation of Solidarity that the road toward reform and renewal was opened up.

From this experience comes an important conclusion: that economic reform in Poland cannot succeed and cannot bring the expected economic and social results unless it is accompanied by a deepgoing reform in the system of government functioning—a reform that would eliminate the causes of the crisis inherent in the present social and political system and provide guarantees that the old system would not return.

outcome of long-term economic policies carried out in an over-ambitious and unrealistic manner by a narrow group of people and institutions that function outside any social control. The concentration of decision-making in the main centers of authority, the absence of accounting, and the chaos in pricing policies make social control totally impossible, in any case.

There has thus been a situation of total economic arbitrariness and irresponsibility, leading to economic decisions that have been harmful. Huge investments have been made without sufficient reason and without first assuring that there was the necessary transport, energy, and linkage to other sectors of the economy to make them feasible. Within this framework, the voluntaristic policies were especially discriminatory against individual farmers, particularly in terms of low prices and the insufficient allocation of machinery.

To try to compensate for these inefficient economic policies and this inefficient system, more and more foreign loans were taken out. The capitalist bankers were expected to finance this economically decrepit centrally planned state economy. But the loans have to be repaid—and with interest—something that can only be done by an efficient economy. Thus, this way of compensating for inefficiency could not be used for long; to the contrary, it would become an additional factor in the economic breakdown.

The final result of this has been the colossal debt of more than \$24 billion. And this is not counting short-term loans and the prospect of further indebtedness. The country must set aside more for the payment of interest and of credit installments than is earned by exports. This means that every import must be supported by additional credits. And such additional credits are becoming harder to get from the foreign banks and have stiffer conditions than before (higher interest rates and less time to repay). Quite simply, we are being rated as bankrupt and are being treated accordingly.

In such a situation, the economy cannot be assured of enough imported goods from the West. There must therefore be a sharp curtailment of raw materials and semi-finished goods and even spare parts—and this above all has been the reason for the underutilization of productive capacity in our economy.

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### C. Factors built into the system

The deepest causes of the crisis are lodged in the system itself. All economic decisions are monopolized by the main centers of authority, which issue orders to individual enterprises on what, how much, and in what way things should be produced. This is known as administering the economy through a system of command-distribution. In such a situation, individual enterprises do not have any freedom in the determination of the production plan or in the choice of methods, thereby leading to the making of unrealistic economic calculations at all levels of the enterprises. Nor does economic accounting play a prominent role in central planning, since there is a lack of accurate information on real costs. This aggravates the tendency of enterprises to maximize costs and promotes their interest in valuing realization of the plan, including expanding costs. Greater concentration of decision-making ultimately causes complete underutilization of mechanisms for motivating people.

All of this together leads to enormous waste of labor and resources. It is enough to say that in the production of a unit of national income, we must use up considerably

more raw materials, energy transport, and labor than do the French and West German economies.

### D. Incidental factors

There are also certain factors that are dictated by the conjunctural situation that has plagued our country in the last few years, such as a poor year in agriculture in 1980. From this point of view, it must be kept in mind that any economy must be prepared for conjunctural difficulties and must have reserves, so as not to break down under the impact of those difficulties. But if it does collapse under the temporary impact of unfavorable circumstances, then they no longer constitute the objective causes of the collapse, but are the result of a faulty economic system, bad policies, and a deeply unbalanced economic structure.

Because of all these factors, the economy of the Polish People's Republic has been functioning badly. One expression of this has been a slower rate of growth in the national income, and for more than two years a sharp drop in the national income. As a result, the country is going through a serious crisis that threatens to bring about a complete collapse of the national economy.



Workers at Lenin Shipyard stand in front of crossed-out sign for government-controlled union.

# Workers control key to economic reform

## 2. Economic reform

### A. Support for reform as a condition for its success

This analysis shows that the present economic system does not correspond to the existing social and economic needs. The only way to overcome the crisis on a long-term basis and lead our economy down the road of balanced development is fundamental reform of the system to remove the causes of the constantly recurring crises. Our union fully supports economic reform and thinks that it is in the interests of our members and of society as a whole.

The way in which our support for reform must be expressed includes a broad preliminary discussion of its underlying principles and a clear definition of its direction, form, and aims. By clarifying through discussion the precise character of the reforms we want, we prevent them from becoming trivialized or distorted.

However, Solidarity will not advance its own reform program, since it thinks that the desired shape of the reforms can be worked out through a discussion of already existing proposals. A question can be asked, however. Should not Solidarity join in actively developing and carrying through the reforms, for example, by working out its own proposals for solving the key problems?

The reforms should be the result of free, public discussion by specialists, but they should be implemented by the government authorities, who control the whole economy. The task of the union, on the other hand, is to see to it that the reforms introduced will actually improve the position of working people. The union thus supports those economic reforms that will be in keeping with the principles of social justice and that will bring the greatest likelihood of a long-term—and not just an immediate—improvement in the country's economic state.

In defining the conditions that must be fulfilled in the process of reform, we recognize that to achieve real and far-reaching improvements sometimes means to sacrifice immediate interests. But we can only accept this risk if all decisions concerning the reforms are made in consultation with us and with the entire society, if a full accounting of all the benefits and disadvantages of each particular solution are presented to us, and if the basic princi-

ples of the government's social policy are worked out in collaboration with us and strictly adhered to.

### B. The character of expected changes

Economic reforms should reshape the structure and functioning of the central planning bodies, the main centers of authority, the socialized enterprises, and the other elements in the economic system.

Central planning should no longer have the character of a commander giving out orders. That is, it must not assign tasks to the enterprises by issuing directives and prohibitions. The ways to induce the enterprises to adopt certain policies must be economic ones (such as the use of prices, taxes, and the like).

Central plans should be strategic in character, not merely concerned with current operations, and should cover a period of several years. The goals of the central plan, which determines the overall direction of economic development, should be arrived at through the active involvement of society.

The participation of society in the planning process and in control over planning should be ensured by open discussion and decision-making through the medium of the Sejm [parliament] and through social organizations, local self-government bodies, and the trade unions. This control should be concerned with the overall direction of economic development, the rate of growth, and the distribution of the national income between investment and consumption including the main trends of social consumption. This social control should also safeguard the autonomous socialized enterprises and family businesses from restrictive orders by economic and social administrative agencies. Intermediate links between the enterprises and the central economic authorities, such as the ministries for certain branches of industry or associations of enterprises in certain industries, should be eliminated to a considerable extent.

Socialized concerns should be given the freedom to determine their production plans and methods. In this connection, the centralized distribution of raw materials and other elements of production should be limited and eventually done away with. The concerns should be self-financing, that is, they should be able to cover their costs out of their own earnings. They should be evaluated not on the basis of fulfilling the plan, but on the basis of economic efficiency. An enterprise should be free to dispose

of resources it has earned through greater efficiency, and to earmark them for further investment, especially for maintaining equipment.

The way the concern functions, the degree to which it is autonomous, and the manner in which it is administered by society will depend on its character and size. A precondition for the proper functioning of an enterprise under the new system is the de-monopolization of the market and the appearance of competing producers to a certain extent.

Changing the price system will be a serious dilemma for Solidarity. It will be necessary to change it for the efficient functioning of the enterprises, but may be difficult to carry out in cases where retail prices are affected. And change will have to be accompanied by wage compensation; moreover, the entire union and public opinion in general will have to be convinced of its usefulness. There needs to be broad discussion on this question.

Production units under different forms of ownership should have the same legal and economic conditions for development under the new system. Concerns that are owned socially, cooperatively, and communally, as well as by individual families, should be treated equally in terms of market prices, supplies, and employment and tax policies. It is particularly necessary to eliminate all restrictions on the development of family farms and family-owned handicraft and service shops.

One of the key economic tasks facing the country is developing a national food program based on the strength of Polish agriculture itself. The following must become the main elements of this program: full respect for the private ownership of land by individual farmers and a substantial step-up in the provision to them of farming machinery, tools, chemical fertilizers, and other materials needed to increase agricultural production.

The operation of such a free-market planned economy will produce certain social problems on which our union must take a clear position.

The union recognizes that the enterprises will have the right to make changes in their employment level as they need to. But the government authorities will still be responsible for carrying out a full employment policy, although this policy must no longer hinder productive concerns. Enough money must be allocated by the government for the creation of new jobs and to cover the costs of retraining and transferring people from one industry or office to another economic activity or trade. The self-financing of the enterprises may also result in some having to cut back or close down. In that case, however, the union will demand beforehand that the interests of the workers by protected.

Effective participation of the workforce in the profits of an enterprise may also increase the differentiation in incomes between workers in one concern and another. That is something that should also be discussed within the union.

The extensive introduction of autonomy for each enterprise and reliance on a market system may result in some economic and social difficulties (higher prices, employment problems, etc). The course of the reform will thus have to be watched closely, so that the anomalies that will arise can be eliminated.

The giving of autonomy to socialized enterprises at the same time makes it possible—and necessary—to develop authentic workers self-management. Our union thinks that the establishment of workers self-management bodies in socialized enterprises is an indispensable element of economic reform.

The self-management bodies in these enterprises should have sufficient legal authority to make effective decisions about the functioning and operations of the enterprise. Therefore, they should have the right to exercise control over the assets of the concern, to decide on the aims of production and sales, the choice of production methods, and investment goals. They should also decide on the distribution of the profits of the enterprise.

Particular solutions to these questions will depend on, among other things, the size and character of the enterprise in question. But one thing is especially necessary: involvement of the workers self-management bodies in the recruitment and dismissal of directors (through competitive examinations, evaluation, or direct appointment). The problem of workers self-management should be the subject of wide discussion in the union.

Our union will be socially subsidiary to the workers self-management bodies and will support them fully. But there must be a clear separation between the union organization and the self-management body, based on the principle that the union will primarily defend the interests of the workers while the self-management body will represent and be responsible for the economic and productive interests of the enterprise. The self-management bodies must consult with the union in all matters regarding division of the concern's income that affect the workforce.

The union thinks that economic reform should be carried out as quickly, completely, and democratically as possible. But we especially think that the introduction of reforms cannot be postponed until after our economy has achieved full stability. Therefore a program must be quickly drawn up to halt the tendency toward economic decline. In order to make it possible to begin economic reforms, it is also necessary to restore a normal pace of work and to find areas of real cooperation, such as improving the economic functioning of the enterprise, discovering the most appropriate forms of self-management, combating alcoholism, etc.



# Solidarity unfurls the banner

## Workers control is the way out of crisis

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# Solidarity

### 3. The main problems of social policy

The danger exists that the living conditions of the population will worsen in 1981. Above all, the foreign trade situation is likely to deteriorate further. It is not certain that our country will obtain the \$10-11 billion in additional credits that we need this year, of which \$6-7 billion is needed for repayment of loans, \$3-4 billion for payment of interest on loans, and \$1 billion to cover the current deficit.

If this credit is not raised, then production can fall considerably, having an immediate impact on consumption levels. The possibilities for increasing consumption by altering the distribution of the nation income—that is, by reducing investment in favor of consumption—are extremely limited, since no further restrictions can be imposed on investment in such important nonproductive areas as housing, health care, and education.

There is a threat of a complete disorganization of the consumer market. The financial income of the population grew in 1981 in relation to 1980, but the supply of manufactured goods is unsatisfactory. In addition, 1981 may not be a good year for agriculture, since it has not yet been possible to restock the herds that were depleted in 1980. In practical terms, then, the total annual increase in the income of the population will find no corresponding increase in goods available for purchase.

#### A. The state's legal responsibility for the costs of the crisis and of reform

The view of our union is that the responsibility for the effects of the crisis and for the reforms to be introduced rests with the state, regardless of whether the economic reform assures real autonomy for economic enterprises or what form that takes. This is because the state does, in practice, directly organize the economic life of Poland. The obligation to protect the population from the effects of the crisis therefore rests precisely with the state and

its agencies, regardless of what activities the various unions and social organizations undertake. It is on this basis that the union will judge the state bodies.

The government has not presented a program for leading the country out of the crisis. The plan for 1981 recently adopted by the Sejm did not take up the crucial problems. The long promised stabilization plan still does not exist. Our union and the public in general have not even received a report on the state of the economy. This inaction is sure to cause the crisis to deepen. The government should immediately present a program to lead the country out of the crisis and submit this program for nationwide discussion.

Faced with the indifference of the authorities, our union is compelled to launch its own initiative. We do not aim to substitute for the government. We just want to indicate, in principle, the direction that economic and social policy should take—a direction which is of fundamental importance from the point of view of the working people and which at the same time will decisively affect many aspects of the country's economic situation.

Solidarity—understanding that the country's economy is in really desperate straits—will not advance major wage or social demands in 1981. But it does expect that:

- the basis for the government's economic policies—particularly in areas relating to the union's most immediate interests—will be established in consultation with the union,
- the government will commit itself to consistently carry out a reform program that will guarantee for the future a fairly rapid and balanced pace of economic development (we will present the general principles of this reform in the next section),
- and the economic policy of the government will in fact—and not just in words—respect the principle that the average level of real income of the population will be maintained and that priority will be given to those groups that are in the weakest economic position.

## Workers want full discussion on rationing and pricing of goods

### B. The principle of the free market

Seven months after the signing of the strike accords, the main complaint of working people is the disastrous and constantly worsening state of the market. Empty store shelves and commercial warehouses place a question mark over our wage gains. Lengthening shopping lines and the emergence of the black market disrupt family life.

In this situation, increasing the supply of commonly used items is indispensable and necessary. But a rapid improvement in the supply of all rationed items is not yet possible. In this situation, two proposals for immediate solutions should be considered and discussed. The first raises the possibility of broadening regulation of the market (through the ration cards). The second is categorically opposed to the introduction and maintenance of this system.

The first proposal recognizes the need for a healthy

market, and in particular that to pay what farmers demand will change wholesale and retail prices. It views ration cards, however, as a necessary evil. In a situation of substantial shortages, money cannot be the only way to regulate the distribution of goods. Without the ration card, it will be hard to guarantee a minimum supply of basic goods, especially for those with low incomes.

The second proposal is against the extension of rationing to cover more items and ventures the possibility of a rapid elimination of existing regulation, since introduction of ration cards has resulted in hoarding in some households and shortages in others, and this undermines the role of wages as an inducement to good work. According to this proposal, a much better way of regulating the market than the use of ration cards is to employ the mechanism of prices, which in each case should be enacted with social approval.

Both proposals should be the subject of broad discussion within the union.



Warsaw, Oct. 24, 1956: Poles rally against the threat of Soviet intervention

### C. The principle of minimum welfare

We demand the complete realization in 1981 of all the government's obligations, stated in the strike agreements, in the sphere of social wages. In particular, we expect very quick action to introduce the principle of a social minimum into the process of income formation in the areas of wages, pensions, and rents, as well as enlargement of family allowances and the extension of maternity leave. We do not, however, want to advance any new changes in wage levels.

It is especially important that the costs of reform not fall in any way on the shoulders of our least well-off citizens. It is necessary to define the minimum average requirements of people depending on their age and family status. This appropriate minimum should be controlled and modified in light of changes in the availability of goods on the market, their prices, and consumption patterns.

The areas of poverty in our society cannot be allowed to expand. We should insist that minimum welfare be guaranteed by the government to everyone in Poland, regardless of whether they work or are unable to work. It is also necessary that every living person under this minimum be assured state financial and material assistance. The union, for its part, will supervise the amount paid to ensure this minimum level and the criteria by which that amount is determined, as well as the implementation by the state of a program to protect the minimum welfare of all citizens.

We are aware that even such a modest program would



Representatives of independent union submit charter of new organization to Warsaw court.



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D. The principle of proportional liability for the costs of the crisis

Social justice demands that the costs of the crisis and of the necessary reforms be distributed evenly among all citizens, that is, in proportion to their means. Poland is a country that has a wide range of income levels among different social groups. That is why the costs of the crisis should be shouldered more by those with higher incomes than by those with lower ones. This should be taken into account in the system of wage and tax increases.

There is no one—regardless of the government position he may hold—who may be exempted from the application of this principle. Its implementation should be under the supervision of the union and of other social organizations. That requires a detailed discussion in view of the specific needs, aspirations, and traditions in each individual occupational area. Above all, this means that in the process of applying the correct principle, certain highly qualified and self-sacrificing groups of professional workers must not be deprived of their sense of self-worth and the incentive to increase their productive efforts.

The costs of the program to restore equilibrium should, in the first place, fall on the shoulders of the most well-off groups, especially those who benefit from privileges flowing from the exercise of authority. The union should press this policy calmly but with determination, for in the 1970s there began a sharp rise in social inequality, and the privileges of those in authority swelled to even greater dimensions. And yet this very group is directly responsible for the current state of our country. The maintenance of such privileges for state officials is socially dangerous and in the present situation extremely immoral. Because of their privileges, the people wielding power are divorced from the realities of the actual day-to-day life of the population. They are alienated from society and are in no position to understand its problems. In light of the economic situation and the demands of social justice, we feel it necessary to present the authorities the following demands:

- the introduction of a universal, compulsory, and progressive tax to equalize incomes, in cases where the total family income exceeds the average monthly wage,
- the taxation of exorbitant wealth (luxury cars, vacation homes, etc.)

• the restriction of unwarranted material privileges for those in the ruling apparatus (apartments, official cars, special medical services, etc.) and the publicizing of the incomes and property holdings of people occupying positions in the apparatus.

The measures for redistribution of income proposed above, as well as the system of compensating people for higher prices (providing full compensation only for people in the most difficult material situation) will make possible both the elimination of the inequalities that society will no longer accept and the financing of the most essential social programs. The adoption of all these measures will open the road toward restoration of a stable market.

The union is aware that the market must be stabilized step by step, but it must be done as quickly as possible. We are also aware that this cannot be achieved only through stepped-up production and increased deliveries to the market. Higher prices are inevitable. We take that into account. But price increases can lead to a decline in real wages.

This situation presents our union with problems in taking a position. Full compensation for higher costs of living resulting from price increases should apply to those with the lowest incomes, and should not, in general, be given to those with the highest incomes. However, on the question of average incomes, which are the majority, it is necessary to consider two alternatives: either to compensate them for part of the higher cost of living and in that way improve the stability of the market, or compensate them in full, thus aggravating the market situation and delaying an end to the crisis. Both solutions should be widely discussed in the union.

It is certainly not proper to provide compensation for higher prices on luxury items, as well as tobacco and alcohol.

The problem of determining compensation for higher prices must be carried out in a comprehensive way, in accordance with the relevant points in the strike agreements. This system of compensation should be worked out in detail with the union and should be presented for a public discussion, since the degree of social acceptance and effectiveness for either method of calculating and paying compensation for higher living costs will depend on people having a choice as to which is the most appropriate.

## Program for full employment

E. The universal right to work

The first difficulties on the labor market have already made themselves felt and as the crisis becomes worse we can expect to see the appearance of unemployment in some areas and among some sectors of the population. It should also be kept in mind that during the first period of the introduction of economic reform, this problem will be a source of particular difficulties and will require that the union commit itself to close cooperation with management at the workplace and with the central economic authorities.

The problem of unemployment will demand a division of labour between the enterprises and the central economic authorities. While the enterprises would have the right to alter their employment levels as they need to, the central authorities are responsible for maintaining full employment for the entire workforce through an active policy of creating new jobs, as well as raising funds to cover the costs of retraining workers and of providing assistance to those workers released by an enterprise. Alongside this, it is necessary to initiate a program of occupational readjustment, financed by the state but subject to the approval and control of the union.

At the same time, an important and very difficult matter is the provision of suitable jobs for graduates from all types of schools. This requires analysis of how to utilize qualified workers, replace those who do not have proper training, transfer experienced workers in a prudent manner, ensure greater mobilization of workers on a national level, and so on. A particular difficulty in the current year and in years to come will be the situation facing young people graduating from vocational and technical institutions.

Implementing the above proposals can be a source of serious strains and even social injustice, requiring advanced thought and discussion by particular professional circles, depending on the probable severity of the employment difficulties in each particular sphere. The union should likewise take under consideration the desirability, and perhaps also the necessity, of organizing under its own authority an extensive, long-term program for occupational adjustment.

## Priority on industrial safety

F. Improving labor conditions

Economic reform leading to the establishment of autonomous enterprises freed from the system of commands and directives must be accompanied by steps to achieve basic improvements in the working conditions of the labor force. Currently, a substantial number of workers labor under conditions that are strenuous or dangerous to their health. The enterprises should be obligated to set aside a percentage of their amortization and development funds for the improvement of working conditions. This percentage should be determined by the workers self-management bodies, and the minimum level should be defined by law.

In regard to the numerous cases of health and safety violations in workplaces discovered by health supervisory agencies (toxic agents, dust, noise, high temperature,

etc.), it is necessary to demand that Poland ratify the International Labor Organization's convention No. 148 of 1977 on the question of protecting workers against polluted air, dust, vibration, and crowding and that there be strict compliance with existing Polish regulations on the protection of workers according to the terms of this convention.

An important factor in properly organizing work in the enterprises and in the entire economy is to shorten labor time. This will provide a strong stimulus to a more effective organization of the enterprises and encourage workers to work more efficiently. During negotiations on the next stage of shortening labor time, it will be necessary to call on the heads of enterprises and economic administrations to draw up concrete plans for more organizational efficiency and technical undertakings to bring about a reduction in the hours of the work day.



add to the supply of money in the hands of the population without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods [i.e., be inflationary]. But in our opinion these measures must be undertaken, since that is the only way the material situation of the worst-off part of the population can be improved.

In considering this problem we need to remember that—although a substantial amount of money would be involved in raising the standard of living of those who are now below minimum, enlarging family allowances, extending maternity leave, reevaluating rents and pensions, etc.—this sum would represent only a small part of the money in the hands of the population. Thus, to abandon these programs would contribute only slightly to the stabilization of the market. And that would be accomplished at the expense of those who are in the worst material position. Our union would never agree to that kind of economizing.

A correct practical application of the principle of a minimum level of welfare requires that the public become actively involved in this matter.

Related to the problem of the minimum is the question of the maximum. Of necessity, there must be a limit on income levels, and exceeding that limit will not be tolerated. In this connection, we demand, among other things, the annulment of the 1972 decree that resulted in a departure from our general principles by giving very high pensions and benefits to privileged individuals and their families.



# For fullest democracy in all public institutions

## IV. Guarantees for the Future

### 1. The rule of law

We regard as matters of fundamental importance the restoration of full respect for the law in relations between the state and society and between the government and the citizens, as well as the restoration of self-government and openness in public life. Achieving respect for the law is indispensable for the establishment of normal collaboration between Solidarity and the government authorities and to find a solution to the political and economic crisis in which Poland finds itself.

The rule of law means that the laws should express the interests and will of society, and that both the authorities and the citizens should be bound by them. No one can stand above or beyond the law. Legal concepts should govern the state, administrative, and economic apparatuses. Citizens and their organizations must also be subject to those concepts. Everyone should be equal before the law. Justice must be the same for each individual, without regard for the social or official positions they hold.

It is necessary to give back to the courts their high importance as bodies intended to judge conflicts not only among citizens, but also between citizens and their organizations and the state bodies. Since the courts are independent institutions, we regard them as the natural guarantors of civil rights and liberties.

The administration of justice requires compliance with these general demands:

- Broadening the jurisdiction of the courts so that they can decide on questions of encroachments on the political rights of citizens (freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and the press, etc.).
- Naming a constitutional court in order to make constitutional rights vital and respected.
- Appointing a state tribunal to judge people in high positions who have committed abuses, endangered the nation, or caused great harm.

We support the demand made by some sections of public opinion that the courts should decide on the use of preventive detention measures. We also think that it is necessary to strengthen supervision by the procurators of the prosecution, in order to effectively protect the rights of defendants, regardless of existing procedures to assure their protection in the initial stages of legal proceedings. We think that the procurators should be attached to the Justice Department and, like the government, be subject to the control of the Sejm.



Discussion at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk in August, 1980.

We declare ourselves for the irremovability of judges and for the cancellation of the universally criticized system of temporary terms of office for Supreme Court judges, which violates the principle of the independence of the judiciary. Another necessary condition for such independence is the proper selection of assessors to the various kinds of courts. The present method of appointing assessors does not guarantee that they will be selected properly. We think that assessors should be chosen through general elections, together with councillors on local and regional levels.

The administration of justice should be accessible to all. Therefore, it is necessary to abolish the profitable character of court fees and costs and eliminate the tendency of the Justice Department to try at any price to add to the government revenues.

The rule of law requires, in addition to supervision by the courts, supervision by society as a whole over the activities of the public security organs. The Sejm and the People's Councils should regularly conduct open and

public debates on the actions of these agencies. It is also necessary to assure social inspection of the procedures for handing down sentences and for control by the union over the working conditions of prisoners.

We demand the placing on the books of the full range of trade-union freedoms, which have been recognized through the ratification of the appropriate international conventions, including the right to strike and the right of workers to use other means for winning their just demands. We also insist on the inviolability of family farm ownership.

Since, as we have stated, the law should express the interests and will of society, it follows that the representative bodies empowered to pass competent legislation and resolutions should derive their powers from genuine elections. We think that it is vital to have new election laws for the Sejm and the People's Councils, laws that will guarantee organizations and groups of citizens the right to put up candidates for representatives and councillors, from among whom the voters can choose freely in electing their representatives.

### 2. Openness in public life and the problem of censorship

An effective defense of the interests of working people—as well as other forms of civic activity—is not possible unless our public life is conducted in an open fashion. One part of this is the freedom to criticize and to speak out; another part is free access to state documents by citizens, as well as the opportunity to voice and publish their views.

It is crucial that the authorities function out in the open, and not keep covering up behind a screen of official secrecy decisions that are harmful, self-serving, ille-

gal, or even criminal.

Such freedoms and openness may be restricted only to safeguard the legally defined central values and interests of society in general; for example: against the expression of views that are offensive to the moral and religious feeling of society, for the protection of state secrets, and against the expression of opinions that could undermine international alliances.

It is necessary to define by law the permissible limits of interference by the censors, to subordinate them to judicial control, and to introduce the principle of visibility in the text that defines the censors' powers.

The placing of limitations on censorship must be accompanied by guarantees of public access to government-owned media, such as radio, television, and publishing, along with the provision of facilities necessary to enable all legal associations to carry out their own publishing activities. The mass media, in particular radio and television, should be subject to social control.

### 3. The basis for selecting officials

Up to now, the personnel selection procedures have not assured the proper selection of people for leadership positions, which are legally and exclusively reserved for members of the party. The party apparatus has final say over such appointments. This situation is a restriction on the rights of citizens, since a huge majority are thus discriminated against in the filling of leadership posts. Nor does society have any influence over these appointments. Many leadership positions are occupied by people who are neither competent nor enjoy any authority among the workers. This results in great losses to our culture, broadly considered, and to our national economy.

Given this situation, it is vital that leadership positions be made accessible as rapidly as possible to all citizens with the proper professional qualifications, with provision being made for social control over appointments to such positions. In this connection, administrative positions should be filled by people who are competent and who are accepted by the workforces at the enterprises. The principle of *nomenklatura* can be employed only in relation to political positions.

## Representative local gov't

### 4. Local government—People's Councils

We support actions favoring genuine local self-government. We especially support actions favoring autonomy in judicial administration, an essential condition for the independence of the judiciary. We also support actions favoring autonomy for higher schools and self-management for technical institutes, that is, conditions for the undisturbed development of scientific thought and the rounded education of new generations of specialists. We see in the independent student movement a genuine social power, which will be an influential factor in giving a democratic shape to the future. The union also expresses support for the aspirations of artistic, scientific, social, cultural, religious, and other organizations to have complete freedom of activity.

A separate question—with fundamental implications for the whole nation—is the assurance to the farmers of Poland of the full right to an independent and self-governing union movement enjoying the same prerogatives as our union. We will support the farmers in the struggle for their rights and give them all-round legal, organizational, and other assistance.

Finally, cooperative organizations are an important

form of self-government, having a long tradition in our country. They should in return be worthy of their name.

Up to now, citizens have not in practice had any influence on the composition of the local government bodies, the People's Councils. Elections are to a great extent fictitious. Councillors do not have to solicit the support of the voters, and therefore do not adequately represent their interests. Thus far the People's Councils have not only failed to take adequate action on matters of interests to the people of their particular region, but in many instances have tolerated corruption, illegal privileges, embezzlement, and waste.

Our union, guided by its understanding of the best interests of working people, feels obliged to call upon the government to change this state of affairs. In particular, we must insist on the following:

- Changes in the elections laws for the People's Councils, providing for a real choice of a representative from among several candidates.
- Acceptance of the principle that anyone can run in the elections to the People's Councils if they obtain the backing of enough citizens.
- The holding of new elections to the People's Councils before the end of the current year, based on newly democratized election laws.

## Principles of unionism

### V. Union Life

#### 1. The regional and trade structure of the union

Our union has not yet built up a complete organizational structure, but even today it can be said that its basic principle has been established—that of regional ties assuring mutual assistance and solidarity among working people in the different trades and workplaces of the region. The regional structure of the union guarantees the best defense of the workers' interests and provides the best conditions for negotiations with the authorities and administrators on the national, regional, local, and factory levels.

However, the union also fully appreciates that the overall groups in each occupation or trade have their own particular needs. Therefore within the framework of the regional structure, occupational sections have been created. These sections encompass factory union organizations based on specific trades, or interfactory organizations based on an industry. They form coordinating councils or commissions on the regional level, from whose initiative is derived the authority of the section for that trade on the national level. In this manner, the interests and needs of each category of workers should be protect-

ed in relation to the union's territorial units. On the other hand, the subordination of the trade and occupational commissions to the territorial and national bodies of the union assures the protection of the common interests of the working people.

The union faces a big problem in organizing these sections and commissions adequately and in working out the proper relations between them and the main leading bodies of the union—the regional and national bodies.

Among the main tasks of the sections are to draft collective labor agreements and other documents on matters relating to the problems of workers in a particular trade, in addition to initiating action on questions relating to professional qualifications, health hazards, safety and work hygiene, etc. In certain situations, the regional union authorities may also empower the trade or occupational sections to carry out other functions. In the day-to-day practice of the union, trade and occupational problems arouse very sharp feelings, both as a result of the traditions of the former trade-union structures and because of current needs. Therefore, questions relating to the proper relations of the section to the union authority, the division of labor and scope of their tasks, the methods of setting up leadership bodies in the trade and occupational sections, etc. urgently require wide discussion.

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# Unions to extend democracy

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## 2. The main principles of trade union democracy and activity

We want our union to be independent, and we know what that means. We want it to be self-governing and democratic, and to be a source for extending democracy into the public life of the entire country. The rules and the practical work of the union should reflect the principles that define the character of our union democracy and activity.

First, all members of the union are equal. Each one has the same rights and a single vote. Each one has the right to freely express an opinion on union matters. No member is better or worse than another, regardless of any functions they carry out that may temporarily give them powers to make decisions in the name of the rest of the members.

Second, the purpose of the union leadership is to serve and to represent the members. Each full-time official in the union is no more than a representative authorized by his or her constituents to serve them and the union as a whole. They must provide regular and complete information to the members about what decisions are taken and why. They may also be recalled from official positions if that is what their constituents want.

The effective functioning of the union is impossible without provision for the necessary full-time staff, office space, and technical equipment. However, the difficult material situation of the country and the union and the bad experience with the former CRZZ requires us to maintain a certain modesty and restraint in fulfilling these needs. It is necessary to economize in managing the union's finances. The wages of full-time officials should not be higher than other wages in the national economy.

Third, the life of the union is based on openness. The equal and representative character of official functions in the union acquires real meaning only under conditions of open activity at all levels of the union. In particular, all negotiations with the government and with the representatives of the [state] employer must be conducted openly. Every union member must have a chance to look over the documents of the union leadership and its bodies. They in turn must use all possible means to inform as many members as possible about the real problems and the measures taken.

The union organization and the factory circle have a special role to play here. Their task is not only to provide information about the positions of the union leaders, but also about the positions of individual organizations and the activities they are carrying out for the sake of the fullest possible information about the life of the union.

Fourth, the union acts in concert, on the principle of solidarity. This is the basis for the commitment of each self-governing workplace organization to the idea of general solidarity in action by all working people. This was seen most clearly in the strikes, in which each factory or region was ready to provide mutual assistance.

These universal ties of solidarity left a special imprint on our union. In our own interests, we decide to act in response to the interests of others. Maintaining this solidarity requires regular collaboration and the exchange of information among factory organizations representing different industries and different regions, regardless of which territorial leadership body of the union they belong to.

Fifth, members of the union are bound by its common agreements. The statutes of the union or resolutions of factory meetings are binding on all members of the organization, even if they voted against them. It is essential to adhere to decisions democratically arrived at, even when departures from them can bring some immediate benefit. Within the union, the rule of law—through our statutes and various resolutions that are establishing our precise internal legal structure—is indispensable both for effective action and for democracy.

This does not exclude criticism and debate. To the contrary, criticism and debate are signs of a healthy union. This regular criticism is vital in order to control the activities of the union and its individual bodies, but the changes resulting from such criticism should also be carried out in accordance with democratic principles.

Compliance in our union life with the above principles is not a simple matter. The need for collective action in a situation of constant threats and uncertainty may sometimes tend toward the need to place efficiency above democratic principles. But in reality, the union's democracy is its strength. There is no better discipline in action than the unity of those who have participated in a comprehensive way in the making of decisions. We therefore cannot allow a siege mentality to be imposed on us. On the contrary, it is just this defect in public life that we are struggling against.

Sixth, and finally, the union utilizes different forms of struggle to realize the interests of the workers. These include intervening in the case of disputes between workers and employers, raising demands before the employers and government, organizing and leading mass protest actions, etc. Strikes, however, play a special role. We must not forget that the strike is not only a method of last resort, but also a test of the union's prudence and solidarity. Therefore, we must have good reasons for

calling a strike, and they must be seen as such by society. Moreover, there should be enough justification for calling a strike in relation to the social costs that it may entail.

As a guide to this, several principles are necessary:

A. The strike should be effective, and at the same time entail as little cost as possible.

B. The strike must have the support of society itself. In connection with this, information on the reasons for the strike must be circulated widely.

C. It is important to use strikes selectively, choosing those areas where a strike is most painful to the state employer and as painless as possible for the people. Strikes should spare those areas of the economy that supply the immediate needs of the people.

Another important element of union struggle is negotiation (with management or the government). In such talks it is necessary from the very beginning to make careful preparations and to know what to aim for. If, as is often inevitable, there are compromises, it is above all

important not to allow them to lead to disputes within the union, but to solidify the organization by preparing for further struggle for its cause.

We must safeguard union democracy through various institutions and forms of activity. When dealing with union matters, the union press and publishing operations cannot be subject to censorship on the part of the union leadership. It has to be the source of regular information and criticism of shortcomings, which are certainly unavoidable.

We must also see to it that the flow of information within the union goes in many directions, providing constant, rapid, and detailed information to the lower bodies and ranks about the decisions and actions of the higher bodies, and also regular information to the higher levels about the needs and opinions of the members. It is likewise essential to disseminate information among individual union organizations in factories and in different regions.



Leaders of Solidarity union march during March 7 warning strike.

## Guarantor of renewal

### 3. The main functions of the factory organizations

The bedrock of union life is the self-governing factory organization. Union organizations at higher levels represent the factory organizations and make democratic decisions in regular consultation with each factory labor union. Regional or national leadership bodies make decisions only on matters that are of interest to all union members.

Therefore, each factory organization must work out its own program of action. Four main types of issues are contained in such a program:

1. Actions to safeguard the rights, dignity, and interests of workers on the job. This is connected to control over the management of the workplace and its particular agencies. This requires continual control over working conditions and supervision of decisions regarding wages, promotions, transfers, compensation, benefits, and vacations.

The factory organizations act in defense of their members and in the interests of all workers, regardless of whether or not they belong to the union. They also attempt to encourage amicable relations among workers and try to involve them in organizing their work in an efficient manner.

2. Providing for the social and spiritual needs of union members and their families.

Factory organizations should plan different social activities with the aim of consolidating solidarity among the union branches and developing the individuality of union members. It is necessary, through collaboration with other factory organizations or specialized union agencies, to organize sport, recreational, educational, and cultural activities. Such common experiences can bring people closer together and prepare them for joint action in threatening situations, when the time comes for energetic struggle in defense of their rights.

Within the self-governing framework, each factory organization must develop its own ways to carry through these tasks. These questions are just as important as the defense of economic interests. That is why our union commits itself to the aim of developing the individuality of working people and wants to help them develop their spiritual and family lives. Therefore, the factory organization should encourage amateur sport and cultural movements. It should try to get workers to participate in university classes, and possibly widen the range of subjects. It should also arrange free time for vacations and excursions and for different forms of celebrating union holidays together.

3. It is necessary to have an all-round discussion on how employees of the union factory organizations should be paid. All (or some of them) may be paid by the enterprise, which is legally obliged to release from their duties employees who are carrying out union functions. This solution can involve considerable financial savings for the union, and may be legally enforced on the enterprise.

Another solution is to cover the expenses of the individual factory organizations through the union budget, a solution that would emphasize the total independence of the union. Factory workers employed by the union factory organization would take leaves of absence from the factory without pay.

In cases where the first solution is adopted, that of using the factory organization full-time employees from the workplace, it is also necessary to decide whether these full-time positions should be reserved exclusively for union employees (secretaries, accountants, experts on wages and health and safety matters, legal advisors, etc.), or may also be used for elected union activists.

4. Control over the broader activities of union bodies and collaboration with other factory organizations. It is the duty of every union member to see to it that his or her representatives are acting in accordance with the interests of the members and with the democratic principles of the union. In cases of improper conduct, criticism is essential. It may even be necessary to relieve union officials of their functions for improper behavior.

### VI. Conclusion

Solidarity is the main guarantor of the process of renewal. There is no other social force in Poland that can take its place in this task. In embarking on the road of renewal, we must have determination and we must be ready to make sacrifices. Either Solidarity manages to transform its social environment, or the old system will impose its norms and aims on us, cripple our efforts, and in the end absorb us, thus obliterating the hopes for a rebirth.

There is no retreat from the course we have chosen. We can only go forward, toward a complete renewal of the country.

February-March 1981

For the translation into English of Solidarity's program Forward is indebted to Intercontinental Press whose editors graciously gave permission for its republication. It first appeared in ICP's June 22 and June 29 issues.

Intercontinental Press is a weekly specializing in political analysis and interpretation of world events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

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# Importance of Solidarity to the Canadian struggle

By Ross Dowson

The struggle of the Polish workers under the banner of Solidarity transcends by far the borders of Poland.

Their aim, as declared in the draft program reproduced in these pages is to establish their direct control over the Polish economy through self-management bodies. Through the elimination of the bureaucrats who put their own personal interests and material privileges before the interests of the working people, they aim to release and bring into full play the knowledge, and the innovative skills of the workers on the job — to bring into being a co-operative commonwealth of labor.

It is through breaking out and initiating the establishment in real life of a genuine socialist democracy, through the democratization of all spheres of social, political and economic life in their country, that the Polish workers see the way out of the decline of production in the nationally-owned industrial sectors, the neglect of agriculture, and the burdensome national debt accumulated through the squandering of foreign loans in wasteful investments into which the mismanagement of the bureaucracy has sunk them.

By raising the banner of socialist democracy, the Polish workers have given their struggle the most profound significance for the international working class movement.

The Polish working class, its ranks united in Solidarity, within one short year of existence, has launched a process which promises to sweep away the decades of debasement and desecration that has been smeared over the liberatory banner of socialism, not only by the capitalist class enemy, but by those who proclaim themselves to be its official spokesmen and its most fervent partisans.

The Russian Revolution, as a beacon pointing the way to peace and human freedom, gave a mighty impulse to the struggle for socialism on a world scale. But the subsequent isolation of the USSR and its degeneration at the hands of a self-seeking bureaucracy, headed by Stalin, which brutally crushed every democratic right enshrined in its constitution and ruthlessly framed-up and murdered Lenin and Trotsky's co-workers and countless thousands more, transformed it. It became a symbol, particularly in the eyes of the workers in the capitalist West, of brutal totalitarian rule. The declared democratic aims of socialism were seen as a trick of despicable hypocrites, if not a delusion of cretins.

Subsequent generations of socialists everywhere have been paying a heavy price for the crimes of Stalin and his heirs. But now, once more, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Polish workers this crushing incubus is being removed and the great liberating, egalitarian and profoundly democratic aims of socialism are being once again unfurled from a citadel of the international working class movement — for all to see.

The high aim, the purity of their objective, instead of causing divisions in their ranks, has resulted in an increasingly powerful unity of the Polish people and an awesome determination to struggle against seemingly impossible odds with whatever resource at hand, and to win. Their proclamation that, not dictated by self-proclaimed leaders and their bureaucratic sycophants, but workers' control and self-management is the way forward to socialism will surely result in a clarification and purification of working class ranks and lead to a revival of a truly principled, dynamic and liberatory united socialist movement completely worthy of a selfless commitment by the most far-seeing elements of the working class.

The Polish example is of the utmost immediacy to the workers in all the post-capitalist states. The workers in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, China, Vietnam, etc., with only differences in degree, are deprived of the most elementary rights of participation in the decision-making process of societies that claim to function entirely in their interests. There is no doubt that, as information on what's happening in Poland filters through, it will have a profound effect, particularly on the youth of those countries.

The privileged bureaucrats who have politically expropriated the workers in their own domain, know better than anybody that this struggle, as previous ones in Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, is not directed to the restoration of capitalism but to the fulfilment of the promises of socialist democracy. It is a deadly fear that the Polish events will be seen by the workers of the USSR and even more immediately by other sectors in Eastern Europe as something to emulate that causes Brehznev and apologists to smear the struggle as counter-revolutionary. This is what lies behind their persistent threats of armed invasion and bloody suppression even though they play into the hands of the most rabidly reactionary forces in the capitalist world.

But while the lessons of the developing Polish events may be more readily drawn by the workers in those states that have been wrenched out of the capitalist orbit and cynically labelled socialist by their governing cliques and their international acolytes — as if there could be a socialism with neither political nor industrial (economic)

democracy — the Polish example has profound importance for the working class everywhere.

Despite the higher combativity of the workers and impoverished peasants in the so-called Third World locked today in heroic struggle in Nicaragua and El Salvador, it is above all the assimilation of the lessons of Poland by the workers of Europe and North America, lodged in the centres of capitalist power, that can fundamentally re-align and build the forces for socialism on a world-wide scale.

The mightiest battalions of working class power are in Europe. The working class there have forged massive trade unions and political parties of their own through which, time and time again since before imperialist World War I, they have demonstrated their total rejection of capitalism. But despite a series of critical opportunities, due to a profound crisis of leadership (Stalinist subjection of the workers' cause to the conjunctural maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy and reformist adaptation to bourgeois liberal illusions) the socialist breakthrough was blocked and the horrors of the Second Imperialist World War unleashed.

Once again we are witness, under the pressures of the deepening crisis of the world-wide capitalist economy, to a new developing radicalization. Responding to it, the French Socialist Party leadership for the first time has been thrust into political power by a working class with high expectations. The British workers too, as Thatcher's Reganomics attempt to impose the costs of the capitalist decay on their backs, are stirring. However, this time, not the Gaitskell's and Callaghan's, the socialist left, headed by Benn, is on the ascendancy in the struggle to make the British Labour Party deliver on its promise.

But everywhere, including Canada, substantial layers of the working class, scarred and frustrated by the betrayals of the official leadership, some of them, the most experienced and sophisticated, have become alienated, have opted out and as observers are standing on the sidelines. The old fires must be rekindled. They must be won back to fuse their knowledge to the high anticipations of the new idealistic forces coming into the struggle. The Polish workers under the banner of Solidarity are setting a peerless example, for above all, their struggle is addressed to socialist renewal. Beset by excruciating difficulties on all sides, they have grasped the socialist banner from out of the mud of procrastination and compromise and raised it once again, pristine, as it was in 1848 when the young Marx and Engels issued the call — Let the ruling class tremble, the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries unite!

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Jacek Kuron

The following is a part of an interview that ICP correspondents had in Warsaw on May 2 with Jacek Kuron, a prominent figure in Solidarity. Kuron, with Karol Modzelewski, in 1965 authored an Open Letter on the Pollab situation which was widely circulated in the European and American Left.

**Question.** Could you give your assessment of the present situation in Poland?

...I call it a revolution because, practically speaking, it is a movement involving all of Polish society, which is trying to change its life as a whole. I would say it is based on a revolution in people's moral outlook. People have decided that it is impossible to go on living as they used to. There is a general conviction that the way of life we were forced into was opposed to all basic human values, and the attempt to change our way of life in every aspect stems from that general conviction. This change of outlook, which I call a moral revolution, affects all human relationships — social, political, and all others...

This movement is found in every possible sphere of life — in factory relationships, in the area of workers self-management, in parliament, in town councils, in culture and education, schools, theater, literature, the system of orphanages — every sphere of life. And that is why I call it a revolution. And this change is occurring very rapidly...

And now we have to consider the complexities of the situation. I think that the basic thing that complicates the situation is the fact of Soviet domination of Poland. There is a general awareness of the fact that one day the tanks may appear, and then the Polish war would start, which would be a tragedy for our nation. This has to be avoided. At the same time, this revolution cannot be stopped, because nobody could ever stop a revolution.

I wrote an article on whether there would be a Soviet intervention, in which I had an idea on what has to be done in connection with this. The article was circulated widely, and we are still considering the same question. Now I would like to clarify this. The premises for this concept — of how to avoid intervention are as follows. The Soviet Union requires a political guarantee of its military domination over Poland. That is the necessary minimum, from their point of view.

I thought the statement in the Gdansk agreement which acknowledged the leading role of the party would be this necessary guarantee. It had to be connected with a strict definition of what the political leading role of the party meant...

This entire program has fallen to pieces, because a revolution has started in the party. Because this whole line of thinking was based on the assumption of the Soviet Union's trust in the party. And in the present situation I am afraid this trust is no longer possible.

Because of the external danger, the revolution has to be self-limited. At the beginning nobody knew whether the self-limitation of the revolution was possible. Generally speaking, revolutions are not able to limit themselves. However, in my opinion, it was within our power. I think perhaps we could have done it. The self-limitation of the revolution might have been possible. But now we don't know the answer to the basic question of how to do that.

This revolution has reached the party and now it is proceeding inside the party. And I don't know yet what should be done in this situation...

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# forward

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

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